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THE SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

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THE QUARTERLY*

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No. 1

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A TEXAS COTTON PLANTATION*

By EDWIN A. ELLIOTT

Texas Christian University

In the history of the early settlement and development of the territory today included within the boundaries of the state of Texas, the empresario stands out as the chief figure. In the second decade of the nineteenth century especially did he play the leading role. He came to an uninhabited, often to an unexplored, wilderness or prairie, which, if his work was successful, he converted into a peopled settlement. History has recorded the story of the prowess of these first developers of the country, and the people of the twentieth century recognize them as contributors to civilization.

But the settlement of Texas and its development did not stop with the passing of the empresario. The individuals who made possible the further settlement and development of the explored, but bare and uninhabited, regions of the state were also pioneers, to whom, if the Spanish term he further employed, the name of *neo-empresarios* may justly be given, although to these individuals and groups, who carried forward the work of the empresario, history has still not accorded a place comparable to that held by the empresarios.

Yet the motives of the neo-empresario and the empresario were identical; their methods differed only according to the period and conditions under which each operated. The motivating force dominating each was profit seeking. The empresario, operating under the Mexican law which governed the settlement of Coahuila and Texas, obligated himself to settle at least one hundred families, for which service he was to receive as compensation five leagues

*This paper is adapted from a study of the same estate by the author, entitled "An Economic Survey of a Texas Cotton Plantation as to Tenantry, Tenancy, and Management."

(22,140 acres) of grazing land and five labors (875 acres) of farming land—a total of 23,015 acres.¹ This reward, in addition to any expense he may have incurred, was forfeited entirely if within the allotted time, six years, the requisite number of families was not settled on the land. Furthermore, the contract became null and void.² The neo-empresario, on the other hand, came without governmental contract or encouragement, and purchased land for cash or on time, as his circumstances dictated. He had still to find settlers to whom he could resell land before his profit, involved in the resale price of the land, could be realized.

Both of these types of colonizers, for such they were, were opportunistic. Neither realized the tragedy involved in the existence of great areas of untilled fertile land while thousands in the world had not enough to eat. Nor did either consider that agriculture might already be too much in the ascendancy. Moses Austin, the father of the greatest of Texas empresarios, Stephen F. Austin, probably gave expression to all the planning that was in the mind of the typical empresario when he declared, in answer to questions asked him upon his initial trip into Texas "that he was fifty-three years old, . . . and that with his family he wished to settle in Texas and cultivate cotton, sugar, and corn . . . and that he represented three hundred other families who also desired to carry out the same object."³ Little else, in principle, was in the mind of the later colonizer, who will figure in this study, for in answer to the question, "What were the reasons for the attempt at colonization?" his reply was simply: "To sell the land, to get more people here, and to develop the country."

The colonization of Texas farm lands, whether by the empresario, or the neo-empresario, was, in the main, a shifting of a rural population from one farming area to another. That this is unquestionably true of the earlier projects is shown by Austin's register of settlers. From a tabulation of the eight hundred applicants who sought permission to settle in Texas between July, 1825, and July, 1831, it may be seen that 611 came from the states of Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, and Mississippi, all of which were distinctly agricultural. The other applicants were from New York, Kentucky, Ohio, Georgia, Pennsyl-

¹*The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897*, Austin, 1898. Compiled and arranged by H. P. N. Gammel.

²*Ibid.*

³Examination of Moses Austin, Ms., Spanish copy in the Nacogdoches Archives, Texas State Library.

vania, and Virginia.⁴ In the colonization enterprise described in this study there occurred a distinct shift of individual farmers and groups of farmers from one section of the state to another, in which they continued to engage in the same occupation.

The settlement and the development of Texas farm land must be credited alike to the empresario and to the neo-empresario; both came seeking profit with its accompaniment of risk, which differed only in degree. Opportunistic in their actions, neither was a conscious actor in either a definite or a national drama. Their projects involved simply the shifting of people, largely agricultural, from one section of the country, either intra- or interstate, to engage in the same occupation on hitherto untilled soil.

Thus it was that into Texas came, unheralded, individual colonizers who played a part in developing the landed wealth of Texas, and they left their impress upon the civilization of the state. To describe, analyze, and evaluate an enterprise founded and maintained by one of these later colonizers is the general purpose of this study.

The Beginning, Acquisition, and Colonization.—In 1884 there came into Texas from a farm home in Kentucky, a man who established himself and his wife in a county southwest of Houston. With his brother and mother participating, he purchased, at \$2.00 per acre, 1,102 acres of land adjoining a village inhabited by a mere handful of people. In this village he built a store, the floor space of which measured 15 by 20 feet. In this—the only general store in the area—he sold a variety of merchandise. Shortly after his arrival he also took charge of the postoffice, thereby displacing a postmaster whose practice it had been, since he could neither read nor write, to put all the mail in a box and to permit each one who came to look through all in search of that addressed to him. The efficiency of the new arrival as land owner, general merchant, and postmaster induced the few inhabitants to confer upon him the added duties of road commissioner and justice-of-the-peace, offices which he continued to hold until his removal from the community in 1904.

The story of opportunity in the new country, as he saw it, was told and retold in glowing colors in the letters written by this pioneer to his family in Kentucky, and it was in response to these appeals that the founder of the estate, described in this study,

⁴Originals in the General Land Office, Austin, Texas.

came to Texas. At the age of twenty-four, and with \$750.00 the limit of his earthly possession, he arrived in the winter of 1889 at the site that was to be until his death in 1924 the center of his economic endeavors.

He first engaged in school teaching, but before one term was ended he developed a case of measles which spread to his score of pupils, and led to the subsequent disbandment of the school. His career as a teacher was ended.

It was at this juncture (1890) that he joined his brother-in-law in a partnership in the general store. The terms of the first partnership agreement called for a division of profits on the basis of one-third and two-thirds, he buying a third interest with a part of the \$750.00 brought with him from Kentucky. Both the owners were to work in the store and attend to the postoffice. In 1894 the store became a fifty-fifty partnership, the brother-in-law becoming at that time inactive, while the founder managed the store, kept the books, and acted as postmaster. In 1903 the founder became the sole owner of the store, which, as the center of his economic activity, expanded with the years; from its profits he secured resources for the expansion of the estate, and from his desk within its walls he directed his operations both near and far. The first step toward that expansion was the acquisition of land.

Acquisition of the Land and Colonization.—There were two periods of land-acquisition by the partners—the first from 1890 to 1893, and the second from 1893 to 1903. In the first period, land was bought for speculation with the hope of selling at a profit; in the second, it was bought for investment and improvement. It is a part of the folk-lore of the community that an old Spanish pirate's chest of gold was found by the partners, and that with this money their first land was purchased. So strong is the belief that some have contracted to dig for treasure in certain areas of the estate and maps are produced to describe the resting place of the lost treasure, and so persistent is the story that during the preparation of this work the writer saw a theme, written by one of the children now attending the local school in which the finding of the treasure and the land purchased therewith were recounted with colorful detail. The pirate's buried treasure is probably a myth; that these partners found none of it is a fact. Their treasure was the rich soil of the coastal plain,

and their success was the reward of hard work and good management.

In 1890 the two partners bought, for purpose of speculation, a league of land (4,428 acres) in the northwest section of the county in which they lived, at \$3.00 per acre. A cash payment of \$500.00 was made by the brother-in-law, and the balance, to be paid in yearly notes of equal amounts bearing 6 per cent interest, was to be entirely paid by the end of ten years. The land was held by the partners on equal shares; each was to participate in the management of the sale of the land, and the profits were to be equally divided.

Since the immediate problem was to sell the land, the founder decided to go into Fayette County, Texas, where a number of Bohemian people of the tenant class resided, and, through the aid of an interpreter, persuade some of them to buy land, settle with their families, and thus form a nucleus toward the settlement of the area. The services of an interpreter, well known among the Bohemians in Fayette County, for he had settled there on his arrival from Europe in 1871, were secured. No agent or land-commission agency was employed, the founder depending entirely upon the merit of the project and upon the personal acquaintance of the interpreter with the prospective purchasers and settlers.

Seven families were in the first group that came from Fayette County. Others from the same county followed later, and some came from other counties, including Lee and Bell, but many of these were of American stock, some of whom left their purchases incomplete and departed "by moonlight."

For the purpose of sale and settlement the league of land was divided into strips of 160, 200, 300, and 320 acres. The partners, having bought the land for \$3.00 per acre and on terms of ten years, decided to sell the land for \$10.00 per acre and on terms of one-fifth down and the balance within a period of ten years, to be paid in ten equal payments, the notes bearing interest at eight per cent. Purchasers came slowly at first; in fact, it was fifteen years before all the land of the first league was sold or put into cultivation as a part of the system of tenancy. Most of the land was sold, however, within the first three years after purchase, and the payments made on the portion sold were more than sufficient to enable the partners to meet with ease their own payments through the ten-year period.

All the land, however, was not sold to settlers. One fairly large tract was sold to a northern man who gave it to his two daughters. They, in the course of time, had the land put into rice, which proved a successful crop; thus rice growing was introduced for the first time into that section of the country. The resort to colonization or selling to absentees was made necessary, for there were no local inhabitants to whom land for farming purposes could be sold. The country was unfenced and given over to cattle, which, for the most part, ranged at will over the grassy plain. The few settlers who lived in the area engaged, therefore, in the cattle business.

Most of the settlers met their payments and, in due course of time, became owners. The land was rich in fertility and that which was put into cotton, if not flooded by heavy rains during the early summer, produced from one and three-quarter to two bales per acre. One Bohemian settler had the nickname of "Captain" conferred upon him by the founder for producing regularly over two bales of cotton per acre. Some of the settlers, however, were not so fortunate and their land had to be turned back to the partners. One reason given by the founder for the failure of many to pay out their land was excessive drinking, for, with the coming of the saloon to the area, defaulted payments on land increased. In the event the land had to be taken over, the purchaser was reimbursed by them for previous payments and for all improvements made. Some of this forfeited land was resold; but some of it, which had been cultivated, was continued in cultivation. Three tracts of 160 acres each of this original land, a part of that for which the first settlers did not complete payments, are still rented out by the estate. It was in this way that the transition from land speculation to land investment, utilization, and improvement came about, and the partners were led unintentionally into the business of farming. As the land came back to them because of default of payments, they attempted to resell; failing in that, they began to farm it—at first on the "halves," furnishing both land and capital, and later on the "third and fourth" basis. In the latter instance they furnished only the land, for the use of which they received one-third of the corn and one-fourth of the cotton produced. Even then it was not the intention of the partners to farm; their initial project was purely speculative.

This league of land was the only tract bought by the partners with the expectation of resale, although other colonies similar to their own were being promoted in adjoining counties. The Bohemian interpreter, whose services were utilized by many, has told the writer of bringing in from Lee County fourteen Bohemian and German families for another settlement. To another settlement in the same county came many Scandinavian families from Wisconsin and from Minnesota.

The movement of a mass of people from one region to another in which they permanently settle is colonization, and it was in such a movement that the founder of the estate under consideration and his partner were engaged. To prove that the movement in which they participated was momentous and swift, yet devoid of the nature of a boom, we need but show the population statistics from the years 1880 to 1925 of the county in which the estate had its origin.

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|-------|-------|--------|--------|--------|---------------------|
| Census year | 1880 | 1890 | 1900 | 1910 | 1920 | 1925 |
| Population | 4,549 | 7,584 | 16,942 | 21,123 | 22,428 | 34,250 ^s |

It is interesting to note that in the decade from 1890 to 1900, in which this colonizing enterprise was in progress, while the population of Texas as a whole increased only 36.4 per cent,^s the population of this particular county increased 192 per cent.

Growth and Development.—Led unintentionally into farming by the reversion of some of the land because of default on the part of settlers, they were led by farming to the acquisition of land for development as a means of investment. Just as they had earlier bought land on a large scale for speculation, from 1900 on they continued to buy, in the same way, for investment and improvement. From the first tract which contained 600 acres, and the second of 300 acres, the holdings of the partners were gradually increased until some 4,000 acres were held on an equal partnership basis. In most cases, this land was bought at from \$10.00 to \$20.00 cash per acre, the payment being made from funds received from the sale of the original league, earned as rents from the cultivated land, or made in the store as profits on the sale of goods. Some purchases were made, however, on a time basis. Much of the land acquired in this second period was already in cultivation, and in many cases some improvements had

^sU. S. Census Reports, 1880-1920. 1925 estimated.

^eU. S. Census Report, 1900.

been made. On the balance of the land they built comparatively substantial houses in which they installed tenants secured with ease from central Texas. Although not only land but also cattle were bought in partnership, the founder of the estate managed the whole property from 1904, the time of the departure of the brother-in-law from the community, until 1924, without any charge for his services.

After 1904, however, this far-sighted business man began buying land in his own name, thereby laying the foundation for an estate of his own. First, he bought outright the interest of his partner in the store. As opportunity presented, he bought acreage here and there in two counties, obtaining in his own right some 5,000 acres other than the approximate 2,000 acres held as his share of the 4,000 acres in partnership. He expanded the general store, opened a drug store, conducted the postoffice, built two gins, one near his headquarters and one eight miles east, and established the first lumber yard and the only bank in the community, the president of which he was until his death. He added to his cattle holdings until they, at one time, including the cattle held in partnership, numbered over 1,800 head.

Most of the farms were bought at bargain prices, ranging from \$15.00 to \$20.00 and \$30.00 per acre, but for some of the best land which was well improved as much as \$40.00 per acre was paid. Circumstances oftentimes favored him in the matter of land buying; sometimes he was able to avail himself of advantageous situations because of the sound condition in which he kept his business affairs. Some of the circumstances which favored him can be explained. In the settlement of the country many buyers of land found themselves in an over-expanded position; from these he bought acreage; others who had bought smaller tracts, which they had planned to pay for out of products, were sometimes hit inopportunely by droughts, floods, coastal storms, or other misfortunes, and found themselves unable to meet their payments; from these, he bought their holdings; and from some of those owning land in the original league who wished to dispose of their holdings, he bought. On some occasions, he bought land at sheriff's sale. In one of these cases, although the highest bidder, he turned the land over without profit to a bidder who wanted it for a homestead.

Twelve of the smaller farms now owned by the state were repurchased from those who could not complete payment to him.

In buying these back, he reimbursed the vendor for all improvements made. All such refunds were voluntary; not once did he foreclose on those who bought from him or on those whom he aided in buying farms. Many of those who turned land back to him have continued to live until this day as tenants on the estate. Two places which the estate now owns were once held in the partnerships on the part of the founder and the operator. One of these partners sold out his interest to the founder as the result of difficulty in meeting payments in the face of successive misfortune and in maintaining an adequate labor force after his children reached maturity and began to work for themselves. This individual is now a successful tenant on another place on the estate. As farms were bought, they were entered on the books of the store under the name given the farm as a debit; as rents in corn, cotton, hay, or rice came in, they were credited with the receipts. In only two cases did the founder buy land outside of the two counties adjoining his headquarters. One of these was a place in Kentucky; the other involved 640 acres of land in Mexico. This latter purchase was made with the hope of developing it as a fruit farm, but the income tax return form of 1916 bears this notation in the hand of the founder: "Land in Mexico counted as loss, due to war. Actual cash payment of \$1,409.97 deducted."

The development of the estate and of the country went hand in hand. The story is briefly told in the following words of the owner: "The development was spread out over a long time. It was nothing of the nature of a boom; it was just normal, healthy country development, when you consider there was nothing here but wild cattle and grass—no roads, few people, no houses except a few shacks scattered far apart. It took a long time to get much results, but it was lots of pleasure to watch it develop."

Interesting glimpses into prevailing conditions in the early years were given the writer by the interpreter who went with the founder into Fayette County seeking settlers. Although now seventy-four years of age and blind, he showed, in the liveliness of his reminiscences, the energy which has enabled him to remain independent and support himself at the heavy labor of digging wells. To the writer he related at random some of the events and conditions in the early days. From them, excerpts are given:

¹Personal interview with the present owner, October 17, 1929.

The country was covered with tall grass. Once during a dry spell sparks from the Southern Pacific Railroad's coal-burning engine set the whole country on fire. . . . There were no ditches in the country and I have seen water waist-deep over all the country here for days at a time. There were no fences and you could travel for miles over the country in a boat. Mr. — gave me some ducks once, but it rained the next day after I brought them home and they swam away. . . . The cyclone and flood of 1900 destroyed most all of the houses. . . . We plowed oxen in the early days here and they knew a lot about plowing. One day while we were at our mid-morning lunch one yoke of the oxen started plowing and plowed five rounds while we were eating. . . . After some settlers came in and farming got under way I made it a point to bring in a blacksmith with the next set of colonists I brought.

We used to be able to get water by digging to a depth of twenty feet, but as rice production got under way in the country and wells were dug for the purpose of irrigating the rice fields, we had to dig wells deeper and deeper, ranging in depth from 87 to 105 feet and on as deep as 160 feet.

When I came here cotton was selling for three cents and four cents a pound, but we were raising from one and three-quarters bales per acre to two bales per acre; now one-half bale per acre is about the best most of us can do.

Some of the Bohemians who came here attended their Catholic Church services somewhat irregularly at two places—one 16 miles away and the other 38 miles away.

The interpreter concluded with the following remarks relative to the founder and his wife:

No one ever minded seeing Mr. — (the founder) make money for he did it by hard work and good management. He was always willing to help anybody who would try to help themselves and no one was poorer because he made money.

His wife was a lot of help to him. She was saving and used to help him in the store and in the postoffice. When he opened the bank she attended to it for him and used to bring her baby out there with her as she worked.

Location and Physical Environment.—With so much of the history of its evolution in mind, a survey of the whole estate can now be undertaken. The properties are located in two counties, lying west and south of Houston in the flat coastal plain of Texas. These counties are drained in part by small creeks—tributaries to three rivers which traverse the counties. While two of these are important units in the drainage system of the state, the bottom lands of one—the Brazos—embrace thousands of acres suited to cotton-culture. Although no soil survey has been made in the two counties in which the estate is located, from surveys

which have been made in the adjoining counties, experts identify about ninety per cent of the soils as belonging to the following groups: alluvial bottom land, black sticky clay, light sandy loams, and clay loams. It is these soils which characterize the estate, whose headquarters is located in a town of six hundred population, situated on the Southern Pacific Railroad, and traversed by an improved section of the Old Spanish Trail as it threads its way from New Orleans to California.

Extent of Estate.—There are today in the estate 7,648.37 acres of land appraised at a value of \$326,768.11. The land is not contiguous but lies in broken lots here and there in the two counties. There are in all twenty-nine farms, or tracts of land, the largest of which is composed of 2,113 acres and the smallest of $5\frac{1}{4}$. Eleven farms have each less than 100 acres; thirteen range in area from 100 to 317 acres, while five farms range from 514 acres to 2,113 acres. Some of these tracts contain range land for cattle.

Each of the twenty-nine farms or tracts bears a name under which its account is carried on the books, expenses being debited and receipts credited. A farm may be named after the person from whom it is bought, as "Brown," etc.; or the name may indicate its location, as the "Town Farm," which is located near the headquarters. One farm, the "Rice Farm," derives its name from its produce.

The larger farms are divided into smaller farms regardless of uniformity of size or shape. There are eighty-four different farm units, ranging in size from 16 acres to 100 acres, operated by eighty-four tenants, one of whom is a farmer who owns his own farm but is numbered among the tenants because he rents a four-acre strip. Fifty of the farms operated by tenants range in size from 37 acres to 56 acres. The mean acreage per operated farm is 50.1 acres.

A census of seventy-five of the tenant families shows a population of 352 people; the population of the whole estate is estimated at 399—no inconsiderable number to be dependent upon the good or ill fortune of a single estate. On the estate are eighty houses and the same number of barns and sheds. Five hundred and twenty-seven head of livestock, of which 480 are cattle, are owned by the estate. In addition to land and live stock, the estate includes a general merchandise store, lumber yard, drug store, and a gin.

Stock is owned in two banks and in other enterprises in the counties. The total of the net worth at the time of this writing is \$464,465.77. Annual taxable income from all enterprises engaged in by the estate have ranged for the past twelve years from \$27,369.28 to \$69,889.41. Rents from cotton, corn, and rice alone have reached as high a figure as \$55,000.00.

Of no inconsiderable figure, when we consider it in mass, is the total value of property held by the tenants—that reported by 71 amounting to \$46,804.70 net; yet individually it is small enough, for this amount includes all the farm equipment, work and other stock, cattle, poultry and hogs owned by these families.

Viewed as an economic unit involving property of approximately a half million dollars in value and involving the economic well being of a population of some four hundred people, the estate in question becomes an institution the organization and administration of which merits closer investigation.

Present Organization.—Before attempting to describe the present organization of the estate it is necessary to mention that the founder's family, some of whom are engaged in the management, consisted of seven children—four sons and three daughters. The three older sons, all of whom are college men, live with their families in the town near the headquarters of the estate and participate in varying degrees in the management.

Until the death of the founder in 1924, the general management of all phases of the estate was in his own hands. For years, until his sons were old enough to assist him, he was all in all the planner of the business and the executive. He managed the store and looked after the farms, while the care of the cattle he entrusted to a faithful and efficient negro foreman. At one time he did all his own bookkeeping, writing in long hand in single entry every item sold on credit, every bill of goods purchased, every outlay on the farms, and every receipt from them. Later, as the business grew, he employed more help, and more and more delegated details, both technical and managerial. His eldest daughter, having finished college, kept books for him during the war. After her marriage, the eldest son succeeded to that place, while the second son supervised the cattle and the farms. The drug store at that time was being run by a citizen on shares, that is, for fifty per cent of the profits. The gins were operated on a partnership basis, and the lumber yard was incorporated

within the store, over which the founder had direct control. His presidency and controlling interest in the bank took little of his time, for it was efficiently handled at first by his wife and later by a cashier.

Upon the death of the founder, the estate became the property of his wife, to whom he willed it. One son became manager of the drug store and assisted with the outside work. The oldest son became manager of the mercantile interests other than the drug store, manager of the farms, and possessed power-of-attorney over the estate. The third son was in college at the time and continued there until his second degree was obtained. Upon his return home he became assistant in the management of the farms and cattle.

In 1927 there was a redivision of responsibility. The eldest son retained the management of the store and lumber yard, and became the general purchasing and marketing agent, except for cattle. The second son retained the management of the drug store. The third son became manager of the farms, attending to all matters involving the rental of land, relations with the tenants, and the cattle interests; he has power-of-attorney over the land, and represents his mother in all legal matters. Thus the present arrangement of the managerial organization recognizes more completely the principle of division of labor.

The most difficult task is that assigned to the youngest of the three brothers, the management of the farms, for it is in this work that the tenant personnel problem must be solved. The proper administration of the affairs of this office demands patience, fairness, and sound judgment, prerequisites with which the youthful manager seems to be blessed. It was the possession of these qualities that endeared the founder to his tenants, who looked upon him as a provident master upon whom they could depend for security and for continuity of livelihood; and he did look after them with a paternal interest. He was kindly of voice as he addressed the tenants, forbearing of their shortcomings, and considerate of their complaints; he fed them when drouth, storm, or insects took their crops, sent them a doctor when they were ill and short of funds, made possible hospitalization for them or their families, and, when necessary, he provided decent burial for their dead. His advice and sympathy were sought after, not only by the people of the estate but by those of the community;

and generously was it extended. It was the threatened loss of this paternal interest in their welfare which many, both white and colored, on and off the estate, feared when the founder died in 1924. But to see it kept alive in the young manager gives them heart and courage to continue to work under a social and economic system which, under the best and the most sympathetic management, is not ideal. When the years are hard, and they are now, it is then that the tensile strength of the bond between the tenants and their young manager is tested.

CIVIC EDUCATION AND CITIZENSHIP

By O. DOUGLAS WEEKS

The University of Texas

I

Within the last few years, great interest has been aroused in the United States as to the basic problems of civic education. Publicists, educationists, school administrators, government officials, and teachers of the social sciences, particularly those who instruct in the academic disciplines of civics and political science, have given considerable attention and study to the subject. General periodicals and learned journals in the fields of the social sciences and education have abounded in articles, some descriptive, some critical, and others suggestive for the future. Besides numerous books concerning the general problems of public opinion and the practical operation of democracy, two ambitious series of volumes, dealing descriptively and analytically with the problems of civic education, have been attempted. One series, entitled "Studies in the Making of Citizens", has been published under the general editorship of Professor Charles E. Merriam, who contributed the summary volume.¹ The other series is now being published under the auspices of the American Historical Association, and is in reality a report of the Commission on the Social Studies created by that Association. The introductory volume by Dr. Charles A. Beard and two others have already appeared.² *Recent Social Trends in the United States*, the two volume "Report of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends", published this year,³ contains abundant material on the subject scattered through its voluminous pages, and Professor Charles H. Judd's *Problems of Education in the United States*, a "Recent Social Trends" monograph,⁴ which has just come from the press, is partly concerned with the problem of education for citizenship.

¹Charles E. Merriam, *The Making of Citizens*, (Chicago, 1931); the other books in the series are listed in the volume.

²Charles A. Beard, *A Charter for the Social Sciences*, (New York: 1932); Henry Johnson, *An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in the Schools* (New York: 1932); Bessie L. Pierce, *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth*, (New York: 1933).

³(New York: 1933.)

⁴(New York: 1933.)

These and other important books on civic training have recently been published.

The question immediately arises of course: Why this unparalleled academic and professional interest in training for citizenship? Several explanations seem patent. In the first place, the most urgent impetus arises from the economic depression of the past four years. It has caused students, and everybody for that matter, to question the basic concepts and institutions of the social and political order as they have never been questioned before. Each social science has received an emphatic challenge to show why it should call itself a science. In the field of political science, the fundamental assumptions of democratic government in general and the aims and organization of civic education in particular, as the corner-stone of democracy, have been, and are being, subjected to the supreme test. Indeed, all teachers of the social sciences are asked what they are doing to fit the common citizen to meet this crisis and to extricate himself from it. Recent scholarly interest in civic training, however, does not owe its origin exclusively to the present crisis. The need for a searching examination of the subject has been keenly felt for at least the entire period since the Great War. The tremendous expansion of governmental functions and the lack of citizen knowledge about these functions, the rapid multiplication of citizen, group, and class contacts with government, the full development of the technique of propaganda in the hands of vastly augmented and nationally organized pressure groups, the transformation of the press, and the development or improvement of new media of transmitting public information like the radio and the talkie, the rapid advances of psychology and kindred subjects with the new light they have thrown on political organization and political education, the new emphasis given to conflicting "isms" like localism, pluralism, nationalism, socialism, and internationalism, and, above all, the sweeping and kaleidoscopic changes in social theory, social attitudes, social, economic, and political organization, have all served as baffling factors affecting the citizen's part in government or under government. They call, therefore, for a complete re-examination of the existing theories which underlie citizen participation in, or support of, government and of the organization and basic aims of education designed to prepare citizens for such participation or to train them in attitudes considered proper toward the state. In short, what is the citizen's part in this new

world? Of what should his political education consist? How may he, or should he, be made to fit into the picture?

II

Any consideration of the subject of civic training must begin, of course, with some attempt to define its aim and scope. We should be reminded at the start that some scheme of civic education, conscious or unconscious, is necessary in any polity. All government is based on the active consent or inactive tolerance of a people. In all states the people have attitudes and habitual patterns of behavior toward constituted authority. If political loyalty prevails, the constitution and government are on a firm basis; if not, the regime is on the road to destruction. Some sort of civic training is, therefore, necessary under any polity if it is to endure. It is absolutely essential to the maintenance of political cohesion and to that habitual obedience which the great majority of state subjects are supposed to render to a common sovereign. Thus civic training is not confined to democracies or to forms of government under which the citizen is allowed a share in the direction of public policy. Indeed, it is given even more stress and is much more consciously systematized and directed under authoritarian regimes like those now existing in Russia and Italy than in supposedly democratic states like England, France or the United States. Newly founded polities, certainly, must give more attention to civic training than long established ones. Compensating factors must be built up to take the place of older political traditions and symbolisms and must be stressed until new traditions and new symbolisms become fixed or old ones transformed or readjusted to the support of the new institutions.⁵

Civic training is, therefore, training in the habits and attitudes of political cohesion.⁶ Absolute cohesion of this sort, however, is never fully attainable. Loyalty has never attached itself exclusively to the state. The very nature of life itself subjects the individual to a conflict of loyalties. In the pluralistic society of the Middle Ages this is most clearly seen, but centrifugal forces were also present in the closely-knit city states of Ancient Greece; they were much in evidence even in the autocratic monarchies of early modern history; and they are most assuredly characteristic

⁵Merriam, *op. cit.*, Ch. I.

⁶*Ibid.*, Ch. II.

in a much more marked degree of the modern industrial state. The latter kind of state may be the arbiter of the aspirations of its regional, racial, religious, class, and occupational divisions, but it cannot claim the undivided loyalty of all its subjects at all times or under all conditions. No less in the modern world can the state distract the attention at all times of some of its members from the innumerable international interests which have been the result of an increasingly integrated world. Indeed the national state is beset by disruptive factors both from within and without, and only by constant emphasis upon the factors, albeit still strong, which make for national cohesion, does it maintain its uncertain supremacy. And even so, it dare not oppose the other loyalties too strenuously; it can only hope to coördinate them and steer them in a common direction and to establish attitudes which in times of national stress, at least, will occupy the center of the citizen's conscious attention and cause him to subordinate conflicting calls. The public good *versus* group and private goods—this is the eternal political conflict, and any scheme or technique of civic education must strive to emphasize the former. It is, after all, with allegiance to the state that the public good is identified, and this allegiance still overshadows other allegiances, which are continuously shifting in their character. What, then, are the existing agencies, media, and techniques whereby this central integration is effected, and how well do they realize the desired result? Moreover, what are their aims, and how may these aims be improved, as indeed they must be improved if society or the state is to survive in this modern world of gigantic forces and constant change?

Merriam in his *Making of Citizens* considers a number of means of civic education found in varying degrees of importance in the eight states he considers. The formal educational system he lists first as "an outstanding agency of civic training in all eight," and he states that "the importance of this institution for the purpose of fostering group solidarity becomes increasingly evident." The army, the navy, and the administration he also emphasizes as "important agencies in the development of civic solidarity." "They supply the colorful human element through which the invisible and intangible commonwealth is made real to the mass of the people." Political parties, he thinks, perform the service of helping to develop civic interest and morale: "they arouse interest in the state" and "reduce the element of conflict,"

and, in the case of the United States, they have served as nationalizing forces. Then follow the patriotic and other organizations, which profess to promote patriotic sentiments, enthusiasm, and education. Among the other factors in civic solidarity and civic education Merriam considers are language, literature, and the press. He emphasizes also the importance of symbolism and and ceremonialism, both in the past and the present, in civic education. Under these would be included national holidays, national heroes, the national tradition in general, civic art, national anthems, and mass demonstrations of various sorts. Such symbolism is one of the chief props of patriotism whether it be in democratic America or communistic Russia.⁷

For the purpose in hand, however, the agencies, media, and techniques of civic education, as they are found at present in the United States, may best be considered under three heads: (1) the existing system of formal training for citizenship as found in the school system—primary, secondary, and college, as well as the facilities for both pre-school and adult education; (2) the educational or propagandistic activities of voluntary organizations, associations, and pressure groups, which purport to be for the public good, but which more often hide selfish group interests behind elaborate facades of public welfare; and (3) such media of citizen education as the press, the talkie, and the radio.

Objection will no doubt be raised that what has just been outlined goes far beyond the scope of training for citizenship as it is often understood. It must be admitted that the term civic training is employed in many senses, and this fact emphasizes the first problem that needs to be attacked, which is that there should be greater common agreement as to what the scope of civic education should include. In the broadest sense, as we have seen, education for citizenship would seem to embrace the whole field of education, both formal and informal. This conception, of course, we owe to the Greeks. Plato, in particular, taught that the citizen's end was to lead the good life in the state, which good life was to be the by-product of the proper adjustment of all conflicting elements of society. Each person was to be trained for his particular occupation and station as well as for the part he was to play in the coöperative life of the state. In a somewhat different spirit, Jefferson advocated for America a system of free

⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 16-25.

public schools in which the major emphasis of the educational program was placed upon fitting men for an active part in a democratic society and government. Moreover, certain present-day thinkers believe that the central theme of all education should be good citizenship. Thus occupational training, as well as general training in the natural and social sciences, the arts, health, and physical well-being would be included. For thus, it is said, the man is better prepared to exert his due weight in the community. This theory of civic training, like that of the Greeks would make no distinction between the political, economic, and social aspects of the life of the community. It would also include all agencies of the community which in any manner seek to educate or inform the citizen as to his political, economic, and social rights, duties, and behavior. At the other extreme are those who would define civic education as drill in the etiquette of the Flag, singing the "Star-Spangled Banner" from memory, or, at most, a dry-as-bone course dealing with the bare outlines of governmental structure. In between, range those who would include survey courses in the social sciences or a series of courses in the separate disciplines of political science, economics, sociology, anthropology, etc., and others who would confine such studies to government or political science. A variety of pedagogical methods are advocated by each group, ranging from formal lectures to informal discussions, project work, or actual experiments in self-government in connection with institutions of learning of various grades.

Without seeking to be dogmatic, then, it would seem best to view the matter of civic education in its broader aspects, not, by any means, to the extent of including all human education, but only to the extent to which the educative process points more or less directly to political behavior. Let us return, then, to the three classes of agencies of civic training set forth above and examine critically for a few moments not only the existing American school system as a force in civic training, but the spontaneously organized community agencies which attempt to influence political attitudes and behavior, and the media, through which such attempts often pass.

III

The American system of formal education is supposed to be the corner-stone of democracy. "Popular government—popular

education; these two poles are ever discernible in American educational thought. Because the people are the ultimate source of authority, schooling is made universal and compulsory. It is expected to fit them to perform the duty of governing, particularly of voting."⁸ Moreover, it is conceded to be the most powerful single agency in shaping political behavior. In this respect, it has to a large extent supplanted the family and the church, although the family influence still counts for much in fixing political stereotypes and behavior patterns, and the church, in addition to sharing in this process, still has a part in affording educational facilities. The public school system, however, is of prime importance. The state has largely monopolized the teaching function as well as the ruling function.

It has been said that "The point of departure for civic training is the child. . . . Social and political attitudes are determined far earlier than is commonly supposed, many of them, in fact, in pre-school years."⁹ Even nursery schools, in recognizing individual differences and the need for socialized education, are fostering social habits along with the development of the mental, physical, and emotional. In the elementary schools, so-called "character teaching" is assuming a place in the curriculum and is being merged with mental hygiene and health education. All of this has its political implications and in the changing programs of the schools may come to be merged more and more with civic training, or rather civic training proper may become a mere aspect of these subjects.¹⁰

However, the preparation of the child for citizenship through specific civics and history courses has been especially prominent since the War. Many states have come to require them by law.¹¹ Such courses, however, had their beginnings soon after the Civil War, when history and the earlier and highly formal type of civics began to be taught. Beginning in the 1890's, Professor Dewey and others emphasized the need of broadening the social studies in the primary and secondary schools.¹² After the turn of the present century, political science and the other social sciences forged ahead in the colleges and universities, and there

⁸George A. Coe, *Educating for Citizenship* (New York: 1932), p. 3.

⁹Merriam, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

¹⁰Coe, *op. cit.*, Ch. II.

¹¹*Recent Social Trends*, p. 1496.

¹²Judd, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-90.

was built up throughout the school system that extensive formal system in civic education which is perhaps "the characteristic feature of American civic training." Even yet, however, both in the schools and the colleges the social studies tend to be overshadowed by the languages, mathematics, and the natural sciences, not to mention vocational subjects.

In the primary and secondary schools, although civics in later years was expanded into a more or less interesting hash of rudiments of the social sciences in general and came to be much more attractively presented in the better schools, the teaching of history remained the strongest bulwark in fixing civic attitudes. In her analysis of four hundred text books, mostly in history and in recent use in American schools, Bessie L. Pierce¹³ found an insidious propaganda of chauvinism and "my-country-right-or-wrong" nationalism in many of them. Thus the spirit of Parson Weems still stalks through such texts, and the general attitude still persists in many of the primary and secondary schools at least that scientific history is dangerous for the young. College history text books are not usually subject to this criticism, but only a relatively few persons ever see them. The basic emphasis, then, is upon the glorification of the nation's past, and upon creating a cult of hero worshippers and uncritical "chip-on-the-shoulder" patriots.

The tendency reflected in history and civics text books, and no doubt in much of the public school teaching in less progressive schools, has, particularly since the War, gained new impetus due to the influence of often well-meaning but short-sighted patriotic groups. They have been bent upon the inculcation of what might be termed a type of political fundamentalism which devises patriotic creeds to be recited and patriotic symbols to be branded upon the hearts and minds of pupils. Elaborate exercises in flag ceremonialism, committing to memory portions of the Constitution, learning that the President is elected for four years, Senators for six, and Representatives for two, burning incense before Washington, Lincoln, or Lee, who are portrayed as plaster saints, are all supposed completely to fit the student for service to his country. It is, of course, a little hard to see how all this is going to help him determine as a citizen what measures should be taken

¹³*Civic Attitudes in American School Textbooks* (Chicago: 1930).

to reduce unemployment, whether or not banks should be nationalized, and whether or not the United States should join the World Court. It is well enough to think of how the fathers froze their feet at Valley Forge, but it does not necessarily create a civic interest in the shelterless children of a West Virginia mining town. Ritualism may have its place in elementary education, but true patriotism is no more represented by mere flag waving than is true religion by simply elevating crosses.

In the colleges, this type of thing is largely absent, but there are other factors there which do not particularly aid in the preparation for citizenship, much less the political leadership which Thomas Jefferson expected to come from this source. The disciplines of political science, history, economics, sociology, and anthropology are well developed in our larger colleges and universities, but, even though the bulk of students who come under these disciplines will never become scholars or specialists in these fields, the tendency is, perhaps, to cater a little too much to the few who have such expectations. And regardless of the growth of these subjects in recent years, they are still overshadowed by the mere tool subjects of the languages and mathematics, and receive less emphasis than the natural sciences. Literature might become a vehicle of civic training, but the spirit of the philologist, the grammarian, the literary critic, and the literary antiquarian tend to dominate the field. Some experimentation in orientation courses in the social sciences has gone on, but there is serious danger of such courses being mere mechanical mixtures rather than chemical mixtures of differing social disciplines, each one of which, after all, has an insoluble nucleus. Moreover, as long as the prestige and promotion incentives are attached to intensive research in narrowing specialties rather than to distinguished teaching in somewhat broader fields, the process of closer coördination of social subjects will be delayed. It is, however, by no means demonstrated that such coördination is either possible or desirable in college teaching. Good teaching in one social science, nevertheless, requires a good background in the others, which less specialization or more requirements for graduate students might better insure. Most important of all, the vocational schools, which cluster around our arts colleges in large universities and which have come to represent almost every higher calling except that of statesmanship, while they have encouraged the study of the social sciences, have tended to focus the student's attention upon

making a good living rather than upon living the good life of which true citizenship is perhaps the most important part.

Much stress is put in some quarters on student self-government and extra-curricular activities of various sorts in schools of all grades as aids in civic training,¹⁴ but in the colleges at least, such activities too often abound in the very ailments of outside political life, which a true civic training is designed to correct. Perhaps, if the experimentation in the same sort of thing in the primary and secondary schools were more successful, a purer generation of college students and of citizens might arise.

So far no mention has been made of the rapidly developing ramifications of adult education, which has great potentialities for civic training. Adult education, it is said, looks upon "learning as a continuing process throughout life"—and aims at "the release of forces which may contribute to the making of a new and better society."¹⁵ It takes a variety of forms, and social and political studies are emphasized throughout. Among publicly maintained agencies for adult education are to be found city colleges, extension and correspondence schools, continuation schools of various sorts, Americanization classes, and classes for illiterates. Eighty-four colleges and universities maintain extension or correspondence schools. The more important extension schools provide correspondence courses in many subjects including government, extension center classes, group study classes, package loan libraries, and visual instruction departments, besides departments that prepare programs for the public schools in various fields of learning. The educational activities of public libraries and museums should also be noted. A wide variety of facilities for adult education is also provided by private organizations. Here may be mentioned private correspondence schools, courses maintained by such organizations as the Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Y.M.H.A., K. of C., Chautauquas, and schools, classes, and study groups fostered by labor unions and proletarian parties. The educational activities of public forums and private clubs of various sorts should also be included.¹⁶ Much of this activity has little or nothing

¹⁴Coe, *op. cit.*, Ch. III.

¹⁵World Association for Adult Education, *Bulletin XXXV*—"Adult Education in the United States of America" (London, Feb., 1928), p. 1.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, and concluded in *Bulletin XXXVI* (May, 1929); see also *Recent Social Trends*, p. 343.

to do with developing civic attitudes, but all the agencies mentioned afford some formal or informal civic training for adults, which must not be neglected in any analysis of the forces fostering civic education, whether good or bad. It has been noted that great numbers of adult students, far from being interested only in vocational subjects, are eager for training in subjects that deal directly with matters of citizenship.

IV

Education for citizenship is, however, not confined to schools. Many varieties of voluntary associations and pressure groups have a share in the process, either directly or indirectly. Education, this may be called—perhaps propaganda is a better word. DeTocqueville noted a century ago that “Americans of all ages, all conditions, and all dispositions constantly form associations—If it be proposed to inculcate some truth, or to foster some feeling, by the encouragement of a great example, they form an association.”¹⁷ “This artificial stimulation of feelings and opinions, DeTocqueville held an essential and potent force, as well as a necessity, in a democracy where the power of the individual is lessened by the equality of conditions.”¹⁸ Since the War, associations of this sort, bent on furthering the public welfare and having a supreme faith in the common schools as agencies for indoctrinating the citizenry, have multiplied by leaps and bounds. Many other national associations and groups, organized to promote selfish economic interests but affecting a pretense of public interest, have made their appearance. All have taken up the improved methods of propaganda, and many have assumed the form of pressure groups which force their ideas upon their membership, the public, the legislative bodies, and the administrative agencies of the government. Many books and articles, appearing during the last decade, have described and analysed these organized minorities and the effect they have had on public attitudes and opinion as well as on political parties and the policies of actual government. Few conceivable interests—occupational, patriotic, military, peace, religious, moral, political, and fraternal—are without their organizations, ballyhoo, lobbies, and power.¹⁹

¹⁷Quoted in Bessie L. Pierce, *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth*, p. ix.

¹⁸*Ibid.*

¹⁹E. Pendleton Herring, *Group Representation Before Congress* (Baltimore: 1929).

Their influence is potent in creating civic attitudes and in writing their ideas into statutes and administrative orders affecting not only the school curricula, but every phase of life. One need only mention the D. A. R., the American Legion, the Navy League, the National Council for Prevention of War, the League of Nations Association, the Ku Klux Klan, the Anti-Saloon League, the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, the Crusaders, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the Public Utilities, the American Federation of Labor, and the American Farm Bureau Federation, to be reminded of a vast frenzy of activity. And the names of the associations here given represent only a few of a host of organizations bent upon accomplishing some nationwide purpose.²⁰

To this list might be added the major political parties, which still maintain a firm grip on the political loyalty and behavior of the people. The minor parties certainly, must not be left out, the most important being the Farmer-Labor, the Socialist, and the Communist parties, whose main purposes are to change the political and economic stereotypes and release the potentialities of the voters.

Other types of organizations, like the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, the Camp Fire Girls, and the Junior Red Cross exert a great influence on youthful minds in fixing civic attitudes. Other organizations like the Young People's Socialist League and the Communist Youth Groups, strive to create an entirely new set of attitudes.²¹

Amidst all this welter of conflicting ideals and struggle to establish loyalties, one wonders how any sentiment of state loyalty and how the very integrity and honesty of the school system and of civic education survive. Before such a surging onrush, it is little wonder that politicians, legislators, public administrators, text book commissions, university boards of regents, school boards, university or school administrators, university professors and public school teachers sometimes succumb to influences which sacrifice the welfare of the people. In a modern democracy, of course, such influences are inevitable. The redeeming features are that all of these pressures are not bad, and that the very multiplicity of conflicting aims, good and bad alike, tend to neutralize each other.

²⁰Pierce, *Citizens' Organizations and the Civic Training of Youth*.

²¹*Ibid.*

In the midst of all this, and helping greatly to augment it, are the media of mass impression afforded by modern powers of organization and invention, which can be used both for good and evil by government, political parties, the school system, and the pressure groups. First must be mentioned the vastly increased power of the press, concentrated as it is with its press associations, news syndicates, and newspaper chains, dependent upon the advertiser more than the subscriber for its support, and partly dominated by a new technique of news coloration, news censorship, innuendo, and other devices of more or less yellow journalism, and its ever-widening circle of readers. One saving feature, of course, is its constantly expanding news horizons. Aiding also in the process of mass impression on a vast scale are the talkie and the radio, the increased use of which means a considerable modification of civic attitudes and behavior. The radio threatens to be the most powerful force of all, because of the wide variety of uses to which it may be put and the potentially wider aggregations of people it can reach. Its possibilities in the furthering of civic education have already been dramatically demonstrated with the increasing time given to political news, political campaign speeches, party conventions, the sessions of Congress, and even the utterances of the President of the United States and his immediate advisors. Educational institutions have, perhaps, not made the most of the radio, but the recent comprehensive programs on political and economic questions presented by the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education, the American Political Science Association, the American Bar Association and the Brookings Institution, represent a beginning of what may result in a vast expansion of civic education. Much more may be said of all these factors, but much is already well known, and lack of space prevents any further description.²²

V

The final question is: What of the future? On the basis of what we know of the existing system or systems of civic education, how may civic training become a more vital and realistic force? At the start, mention was made of the recent, unprecedented interest in this problem on the part of leaders in educational

²²See: *Recent Social Trends*, pp. 152-157, 172, 203-207, 212-216; also: *American Political Science Review*, Aug., 1932, pp. 721-723; Dec., 1932, pp. 1104-1106.

thought. Some of the outstanding men in political science, in the other social sciences, and in education have lately focused their attention upon it. By way of conclusion, therefore, it seems fitting to summarize some of the suggestions they have formulated.

To begin with, it is conceded that civic education in the broader sense should not be confined exclusively to social studies. It must be coupled in the lower schools at least with physical, mental, ethical, and esthetic training. Sound bodies, minds, and morals, along with an appreciation of the beautiful must serve as a background for civic training. Moreover, citizen education is a process which should continue from the cradle to the grave. Lastly, regimentation should be avoided, for civic training must be productive of leaders as well as followers. The goose-step must go.

When it comes to the social studies proper, extreme emphasis must be placed upon the fact that the subject matter of the social sciences is relative, conditional, and experimental and cannot be reduced to mathematical precision. "Some of our legislators, patriotic societies, and text writers," according to Beard, "appear to suppose that it is possible to formulate a neat program of social studies containing axioms as fixed as those of arithmetic, which will automatically transform boys and girls into model citizens of the Republic. . . ." And even some social scientists, he contends, need to "abandon the conception that their subject matter is a division of physics and openly give attention to what is ideal within the borders of necessity, . . ." Thus can they better assume a "leadership in resolving our confusion by giving direction to public affairs."²³

Indeed, in our industrial society, change is the basic consideration, and problems are constantly arising which tax the ingenuity of the most learned and experienced to find a solution. Thus, in teaching the duties of citizenship, the instructor cannot avoid presenting the realities and tremendous uncertainties of the social and political scene. His attitude must be one of presenting the pros and cons. He cannot fall back upon political dogmas, defense mechanisms for the obsolescent institutions of a changing life. On the other hand, he must guard against hasty opinions and easy solutions. He cannot afford to pin his faith in political redemption to some utopian scheme of human perfection, for he thus becomes as much a dogmatist as those of the other extreme.

²³Charles A. Beard, "The Need for Direction," *Journal of Adult Education*, Feb., 1933, pp. 5-10.

Of course, he cannot, and should not, avoid indicating his personal preferences and opinions. Programs of political and social change, however, are never made out of whole cloth. They cannot disregard national historical traditions; they cannot be imported ready-made from abroad whether in the form of Russian Bolshevism, Italian Fascism, or English parliamentarism. If there is any valid axiom in political science, this is it. The first purpose of the teacher is to destroy distorted attitudes and stereotypes in his students, to create in them open minds, to train them to weigh conflicting loyalties between which they are torn, and to make intelligent choices. They must be made to realize that only through coöperation, intelligent action, and readiness to accept valid changes can a better and more permanent order be established. We cannot tell the student of today what he shall do forty years hence when some political decision confronts him; we can only tell him how he may do it.²⁴ "How can we know," says Professor Holcombe, "what this world will be like when the university students of today in their turn reach commanding positions in the conduct of public affairs?" The best service we can render them "is to teach them to view the problems of a changing world with an open mind, and to approach the solution of these problems in a scientific spirit."²⁵ As a people, it may be added, "we are inclined to experiment in business, but fearful of change in government." The business of the teacher of government is, therefore, to present the importance of the adaptation and adjustment of government to meet the changes in the social and economic life of the community.²⁶ Beard reminds us, who are teachers, that "Our fundamental purpose here is the creation of rich, many-sided personalities, equipped with practical knowledge and inspired by ideals so that they can make their way and fulfill their mission in a changing society which is part of a world complex."²⁷ If we are required to specify in exact terms what future conditions will bring, we can say with some certainty that

²⁴Beard, *A Charter for the Social Sciences*, passim.

²⁵Arthur W. Holcombe, "The Dynamic Nature of Loyalty," in *The Obligation of Universities to the Social Order*, Addresses and Discussion at a Conference of Universities in New York, Nov. 15-17, 1932 (New York: 1933), p. 271.

²⁶Charles E. Merriam, "The Relation of Government to Recent Social Change," in *ibid.*, p. 245.

²⁷Charles A. Beard, *A Charter for the Social Sciences*, pp. 96-97.

there will be a political and social order in which public administration will assume a greater and more efficient part, in which social as well as economic planning will prevail, in which citizens will have to coöperate much more than they do today, and in which health, safety, education, a more reasoned equality of opportunity, and a knowledge of how best to use leisure time will be better assured. And this can be accomplished by intelligent expansion of characteristically American political traditions; it need not be, and probably cannot be, either Bolshevistic or Fascist, both of which represent the death of the kind of civic training that is here contemplated.

Finally, and this is not an after thought, what, in a word, are the functions, indeed the obligations, of the universities in the development and maintenance of this civic training? Much that has just been said applies to them, but they have some peculiar responsibilities. Aside from the teaching function, which perhaps should be paramount if an intellectual aristocracy and a class of public school teachers adequate to the task of training an intelligent citizenship are to be produced, another major function of the universities is that of inquiry and research, the program of which should be greatly widened and its practicality increased. Mere research, however, is futile unless it leads to invention, and the crying need of the present is not only the invention of new devices for the betterment of society, but invention in regard to the forms and subject matter of civic instruction in the other schools. This cannot be done alone by the professional educationists and curricula makers. In the field of civic training the major responsibility rests upon the political and social scientists, who must spare some of the time they now give to the history and description of institutions to devote to the task of institutional and educational invention.²⁸

Moreover, there is the duty of furnishing directly to the agencies of government, of society, and to the public itself, professional, technical, and even popular advice and instruction. The day of scholarly monasticism is over; the community must be served. Political scientists, economists, and sociologists, in particular, should lose no opportunity to serve the public in any manner not inconsistent with their academic honesty and integrity. Thus only can any complete and adequate program of civic training be effected.

²⁸See: *The Obligation of Universities to the Social Order*, passim.

CREOLES AND ANGLO-AMERICANS IN OLD LOUISIANA —A STUDY IN CULTURAL CONFLICTS

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A vast throng crowded around the Place d'Armes — later Jackson Square—in old New Orleans on that eventful day of December the twentieth, 1803. Even from the windows and over the balconies of the Pontalba House and other nearby buildings craned hundreds of eager heads, their ears filled with the sound of musketry and artillery, and their eyes regretfully watching the tri-colored flag of France descend from the top of the flag staff in the center of the square, while the Stars and Stripes ascended slowly above the tri-colored emblem. If tears moistened many an eye among the spectators that day, it was because those assembled there, as well as the rest of the forty-four thousand whites that inhabited lower Louisiana in general, felt a close identity with and a strong attachment to the civilization of the nation whose political power was then so solemnly fading from North America.¹

Passing through that crowd earlier in the day one might have heard the language of many nations spoken; if he answered only in French, everyone understood. In public the Spanish don accommodated himself to the prevailing French language, while others of his countrymen, even of the "poor, lazy and dirty"² class, bungled it but managed to be understood. Those Germans who had long ago settled above New Orleans had become "so Frenchified, as to appear of Gallic parentage,"³ and even the negro slaves and freedmen had developed a patois which was as good French as that spoken by many of their masters. Louisiana had become a receptacle for a polyglot European immigration, but the whole was characterized by a prevailing French stamp.

As yet these people had but little presaged the impact that was coming between themselves and the Anglo-Americans whose

¹For a contemporary account, see C. C. Robin, *Voyages dans l'intérieur de la Louisiane, de la Floride Occidentale, et dans les îles de la Martinique et de Saint-Dominique*, II, 137-139.

²Perrin du Lac, *Voyages dans les deux Louisianes*, 390-391. For same, see J. A. Robertson, *Louisiana under the rule of Spain, France and the United States*, I, 150.

³Charles Gayarre, *History of Louisiana*, I, 355.

emblem they saw rising in the Place d'Armes. So well balanced seemed to them the good and the evil involved in the present change that silence reigned among the onlookers until, at the close of the flag-raising, it was harshly broken by a small group of Americans who threw their hats into the air and uttered loud huzzas.⁴

With such cock-crowing had the Anglo-American announced his presence among the old French society and given warning of the aggressiveness that lay in his civilization. Already a number of his kind had found entrance into Louisiana under the easy-going eye of Spain. So far they had come for adventure and profit; now they were to govern, and finally, by a process of absorption, they were to Americanize French Louisiana.

Much of true history, of romance, and of deliberate untruth has been written about the Louisiana Creole. He has too often been thought of as partially compounded of negro blood. Scarcely an intimation of such is to be found in the records and accounts of him before the Civil War. The Creole was, properly, one born in Louisiana of French or Spanish descent without any admixture of either Negro or Indian. It has not been told in any printed work, how tenaciously these Creoles clung to the French language, habits and culture against the opposite culture which the Americans slowly introduced, how they succeeded in maintaining a cultural predominance until near the middle of the last century, and how at last they were subordinated to the more aggressive Anglo-American civilization.

There were colorful incidents among the recurrent clashes and rivalries between two such different peoples as the French Creoles and the Anglo-Americans. So masterful has been the westward advance of the Anglo-Americans that it has become quite easy to class the submergence of the Creole in the same category as the easy effacement of the Spanish element in Florida, Texas, and California. But, thanks to considerable numbers, Creole civilization persisted long and tenaciously. It exhibited none of the fierceness of Filipino resistance to the assumption of American authority. With a population notably docile and easy-going, long accustomed to acquiescence in a mild control by a kindred yet alien people, and recently experienced in kaleidoscopic changes in authority, Louisiana did not present a culture bed of sharp racial

⁴Robin, *op. cit.*, II, 139.

consciousness and inflammable animosities out of which some Creole Aguinaldo might organize a revolution. Filipinos were schooled in revolution; Louisiana Creoles were not.

But the Creoles had leaders who cried out in public places for the preservation of their ideals, while the masses toddled but slowly into American ways. They had at bottom a desire to preserve for themselves and for their posterity certain things which they held to be a part of their normal life—the French language, inherited French customs, and the continental system of civil jurisprudence—all of which seemed to be threatened with an American inundation. For several decades they had the advantage of numbers—about seven to one of the population in 1806, at least three to one in 1812, and perhaps two to one in 1830. In the middle forties, however, they were fast yielding to the more numerous and aggressive Anglo-Americans.

The culture of Louisiana at the beginning of the American domination was that of sparsely and unevenly settled frontier with the additional feature of a population of mixed races set roughly in a French mold. It was characterized by grossness and crudity, mixed, as might be expected, with taste and nobility; religion circumscribed by law and tradition, but in fact not seriously hampering the inter-relations of different groups; and a political sense untrained and excitable, but at times giving evidence of the urge to participate in public decisions. No one can know how many of the forty-three thousand eight hundred whites then in lower Louisiana were derived from immigrants directly from France, or how many drew their lineage from Acadian or Canadian French, from West Indian refugees, from Germans of the German Coast, from various Spanish stocks, or even from the Irish. And what should we say of the mulattoes and quadroons so numerous in New Orleans? Certainly it may be said that all these persons were the survivors of the natural ravages of time, of foul pestilence that annually took its toll of scores and hundreds in this untamed land, of poverty, crime and disorder, and of governmental mismanagement natural to most colonial powers of that time.

There were some descended from those "casket girls," who had been carefully selected by king and bishop of France in 1728 as girls of upright character to be sent to Louisiana to become wives of the settlers. Others who were born of the girls sent from a house of correction in Paris seven years earlier were made to

quail at the haughty glare of the "casket girl" tribe. The forbears of many were redemptioners, and the ancestors of some were the French nobility. In a few cases Spanish blood was predominant, but, if we are to believe contemporary estimates, it was mainly among the official classes or the extremely "humble, poor, indolent, ignorant people . . . who Idolize their Priests."⁵ Among those who dwelt in what was known as the German Coast, some twenty miles up the river from New Orleans, the greater number were of German origin, but by 1803 they had become "so Frenchified, as to appear of Gallic parentage."

Both because of the interest that has clustered around them and because they resisted longest and most doggedly the exchange of their language and habits for those of the Anglo-Americans, the Acadians, who occupied both banks of the Mississippi above the German Coast, deserve special consideration in this brief survey of the origin of the culture of Louisiana. Beginning in miserable exile and poverty about 1755, eliciting the sympathy of readers of *Evangeline*, these settlers and their descendants on the Acadian Coast continued through long decades in squalor and ignorance. Possessed of rich lands, they were inert and lacking in the enterprise to make the best use of them. Their huts were sometimes constructed of slabs made by trampling Spanish moss in a sort of shallow vat partly filled with mud which was then left to dry, after which the slab was removed from the vat, set in place for the wall or the roof, and kept whitewashed to prevent deterioration by the weather; their furniture no more than a rude table, some benches, and possibly a home-made bed; their food for the most part salt pork and corn cakes; both parents and numerous children ill-clad and ordinarily bare-footed, mingling with the dogs and the pigs near the hut—such were those commonly called "Cajuns" and denied the designation of "Creoles" by those who thought themselves better descended. Yet they were found to be simple and good people, given to hospitality. Inert and inclined to subsist in ease, some, nevertheless, engaged in domestic manufactures, weaving quilts and homespun, and in the more remote parts spinning and weaving wool mixed with cotton into coarse cloth.⁶

⁵A report by Dr. John Watkins as given in a letter by Claiborne to Madison, Feb. 13, 1804, in *Official Letter Books*, I, 372-373.

⁶See Berquin-Duvallon, *Vue de la Colonie Espagnole du Mississippi ou des provinces de la Louisiane et Floride Occidentale, en l'annee 1802*, 51-53; W.

New Orleans, with one-fifth of the white population of lower Louisiana, was rapidly becoming representative of the best and the worst in the society of the province. What a city and what a society! A mixture of many nationalities, a turbulent sea of all the vices, yet with isles of culture *par excellence*. The best of dwellings had at their back comfortable verandas looking out upon gardens of palms, flowers, or lemon and orange trees, while directly in front ran narrow, unpaved streets filthy with mud and refuse. The Anglo-Americans had already taken over, by 1803, two-thirds of the shipping of this port,⁷ and it was here that some of the sharpest conflicts between the new population and the old were to occur.

After the American flag was raised in New Orleans, immigrants from the United States came in more freely, but the increase was slow at least until the thirties and forties. These introduced into the Creole land much that was strange and novel, and in turn they entered a society that was to them unfamiliar. The aggressive, enterprising, resourceful American frontiersman, too full of activity to eat his meals properly, had met the contented, mild-mannered Creole who never permitted ambition to become his master or profit his god.

Difference of religion was, on the surface at least, one of the chief marks which distinguished the civilization of the newcomers from that of the old population. Under the Spanish domination, the practice of no other religion than Catholicism was permitted by law. Something of religious bigotry already existed, no doubt. Paul Alliot,⁸ an outcast physician from New Orleans sojourning in the United States, reported that Protestants in New Orleans were denied burial in Catholic cemeteries, and, since there were no others, their bodies had to be deposited in open fields pastured by cattle and horses. On the other hand, the bishop of New Orleans deplored the degradation of religion occasioned by "the emigration from the western part of America, and the tolerance of sectarians," which had "brought a mob of adventurers to the

H. Sparks, *The Memories of Fifty Years*, 372-373; Perrin du Lac, *op. cit.*, 376-378.

⁷*Annals of Congress*, 7th Cong., 2d sess. (1802-1803), 1047; 8th Cong., 2d sess. (1804-1805), 1524-1525.

⁸"Paul Alliot's Reflections," in Robertson, *op. cit.*, I, 77.

colony who know not God or religion," contact with whom "has caused customs to deteriorate."⁹

Later it was frequently pointed out by certain Americans that the greater levity and indulgence in amusements among the French population was due to their Catholic religion, but it could be answered that this was a result not of religion but of national or European influence. The Catholic churches were usually filled during the Sunday morning services, but the afternoon and evening were spent in such gayety as shocked the more puritanical among the Americans. On the other hand, there were few of the strictly puritanical kind among the early American settlers of Louisiana. The hard circumstances of western life in sparse settlements contributed to lessen the dependence of the people upon the institutional church and to make them more inclined to follow the bent of their economic or social interests without regard to religious considerations. Consequently, when settlers migrated from the western states to Louisiana, or through that alembic from the states farther east, they were so lacking in religious attitudes or else so easy-going as not only to manifest no antagonism to Catholicism but even, if it suited their convenience, to fall in with it. Common economic interests tended to breed a spirit of tolerance in both Protestant and Catholic.

From the beginning of American domination until about 1824, there ran a schism in the Catholic organization in Louisiana, which illustrates the difficulty of breaking the roots enmeshing that organization in a foreign attachment and of adapting it to the environment of the United States. It was at first a three-cornered controversy within the church. Upon the assumption of American control, Bishop Penalver removed the seat of his authority from New Orleans to Havana, leaving Reverend Patrick Walsh, as his administrator in Louisiana. But Father Antonio Sedella, parish priest of New Orleans, played an independent role, being recognized by a sufficient majority of Catholics in the city to enable him, for nearly two decades, to hold complete control of the chief center of worship, St. Louis Cathedral. In September, 1805, Bishop Carroll of Baltimore sought to bring Louisiana under the American branch of the Church by appointing Reverend John Olivier as the vicar-general of the New Orleans diocese. Both

⁹Robertson, *op. cit.*, I, 355. Referring to a report of Bishop Penalver under date of July 30, 1798.

Walsh and Olivier, however, were made practically impotent by the stout refusal of Sedella to recognize the authority of either.

Meanwhile, Governor Claiborne of Louisiana and Secretary of State James Madison chose to regard the quarrel between the Catholic officers as a factious one within the church, with which the government need have no concern. But in 1806 Governor Claiborne learned that Sedella was intriguing to obtain from Napoleon Bonaparte his own immediate appointment to the bishopric of New Orleans, and that he had furnished a Mr. Castanedo with four thousand dollars with which to accomplish that object. Claiborne immediately requested a copy of the correspondence pertaining to this subject which had been carried on with Mr. Portalis, the Minister of Worship in France,¹⁰ and Secretary Madison warned Bishop Carroll that the topic would be discussed by our minister to the French government. Madison added that doubtless many of the inhabitants of New Orleans had fallen in with this intrigue not through "any deep or insidious designs," but rather through flattery of the Sedella party and the natural tenderness of France towards a people once a part of the French nation.¹¹

Sedella failed in this intrigue, but in 1816 he thwarted the efforts of another appointee of Bishop Carroll to set up a rival organization of the English speaking Catholics at the Ursuline Convent.¹² So completely did Sedella control New Orleans and the adjacent parishes—the Creole world of Louisiana—that Bishop Du Bourg, who had been consecrated in 1815 at Rome as bishop of New Orleans, was compelled to make St. Louis the center of his administration. Not until 1824 was the schism healed, and then it was because the citizens of New Orleans, becoming jealous of the rising prestige of St. Louis, invited Du Bourg to come to the Cathedral and say mass. With much joy a great assembly attended the Christmas mass of that year, and the seat of the bishop was permanently returned to New Orleans.¹³ The Creole Catholics on that day entered a more extensive jurisdiction in

¹⁰Claiborne to Castillon, Dec. 29, 1806, *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne*, IV, 72.

¹¹Shea, John G., *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, II, 589-595; O'Gorman, Thomas, *A History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States*, 290-291.

¹²Shea, II, 641.

¹³Besides Shea and O'Gorman, see *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XIX, 188, 196-197, 200.

which he could greet the Anglo-American Catholics as his brethern.

The growth of Protestantism in Louisiana was slow. Although freedom of religion was the natural result of American domination, not one step was taken before 1805 towards the introduction of a Protestant minister into New Orleans. In that year, a congregation of the Protestants of the County of Orleans convened and decided to employ a pastor at a salary of two thousand dollars a year. When the vote was taken upon the election of a clergyman, forty-five favored an Episcopalian, seven a Presbyterian, and one a Methodist.¹⁴ Yet, three years afterwards there had been no Protestant church built in the city, and little support was given to a Presbyterian preacher who had recently moved in.

A survey of Louisiana in 1812 by Schermerhorn and Mills,¹⁵ two missionaries from Connecticut, reveals a low state of all religious life in both city and country. Not a Protestant church existed in the state, though one was about to be established by the Baptists at Opelousas. The Methodists had an itinerant preacher upon the Red and Washita rivers. There were perhaps fifteen Catholic clergymen in Louisiana, five or six of whom resided in the city. It was the opinion of the Connecticut observers that missionaries would be of little value until the people should learn to speak the English language. However, there was great interest in the Bibles which Schermerhorn and Mills were distributing, the Catholic Sedella himself taking an active part in the circulation of the New Testament and the French inhabitants clamorously reaching for the three thousand French copies which the missionaries were handing out.¹⁶

On the 27th of July, 1815, the corner stone of the first Protestant church in New Orleans was laid.¹⁷ It was of the Episcopal denomination. Early in 1818 the legislature incorporated the Presbyterian Church of New Orleans, "a second Protestant

¹⁴*Louisiana Gazette*, April 20, May 28 and 31, June 4, 11, 14, and 18, August 22, 1805.

¹⁵John F. Schermerhorn and Samuel J. Mills, *A Correct View of that Part of the United States which lies west of the Alleghany Mountains, with regard to Religion and Morals*.

¹⁶*Louisiana Gazette*, April 27, 1815; *American Catholic Historical Researches*, XX, 123-124.

¹⁷*Louisiana Gazette*, Aug. 1, 1815.

Church for this growing city."¹⁸ A year later the engineer, Latrobe, predicted that the American majority led by such men as the Presbyterian and Episcopal preachers would so combat the pretended profanation of the Sabbath as to make that day as "gloomy and ennuyant, as elsewhere among us."¹⁹ At present, however, though the Americans were inclined to sneer at the French manners and morals, they were too busy in their mad rush to make money to give much heed to religious observance.²⁰ When Timothy Flint descended the Mississippi in 1823, he did not see "a single Protestant house of worship" from Baton Rouge to New Orleans, but Catholic spires were visible at intervals of six or seven miles. He found an Episcopal and a Presbyterian church in the French quarter of New Orleans and a Presbyterian one in the suburb of St. Mary.²¹

By the beginning of the thirties, the laxity of Sunday observance in New Orleans seems to have gripped the Americans quite as strongly as the French. In 1831 the American Theater for the first time gave Sunday evening performances, when the house was usually thronged.²² James Stuart observed that there were "fewer churches here in relation to the population than in any other of the American cities," that the general tendency was towards Sunday amusements, and that neither the Presbyterian church, now become Unitarian, nor the Episcopal church was well attended.²³ Against the charges that the Catholic clergy were themselves lax and immoral, the Reverend Theodore Clapp, Congregationalist minister in New Orleans in 1832, declared that they were of high character, "unflagging zeal, and ardent, persevering industry." They had especially manifested a spirit of self-sacrifice during the recent cholera epidemic in the city.²⁴

Throughout the thirties the Catholics in New Orleans and even in the parishes outside maintained a strong lead over the Protestants. J. H. Ingraham estimated about 1832 that New Orleans had fifteen or sixteen thousand Catholic whites and nearly six thousand Protestant, but that not more than seven

¹⁸*Ibid.*, Feb. 5, 1818.

¹⁹Benjamin H. Latrobe, *Journal*, 175-176.

²⁰*Ibid.*, 169.

²¹Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, 300, 303-304.

²²Niles's *Weekly Register*, XLI, 378, quoting from the *Free Press*.

²³James Stuart, *Three Years in North America*, II, 239-240.

²⁴Theodore Clapp, *Autobiography*, 231-232.

hundred of the Protestants were communicants and about sixty-five hundred Catholics.²⁵ A record of burials in the cemeteries for a period of two weeks in 1833 shows more than three times as many Catholics as Protestants.²⁶ By the end of the decade there were four Protestant churches in the city—the Episcopal on Canal Street, the Presbyterian on Lafayette Square, built in 1834, the Methodist Episcopal on Poydras Street, erected in 1836, and, oldest of all, the Congregational which was constructed as a Presbyterian church in 1819.²⁷ Since nearly all of the Anglo-Americans were Protestants and the French and Spanish inhabitants, with few exceptions, were Catholics, it appears that the old population in the city still outnumbered the new almost three to one.

In the whole of Louisiana in 1832 there were ten Protestant churches, presided over by seven or eight clergymen, and six Catholic chapels and churches, with twenty-five regularly officiating priests.²⁸ The next year it was reported that there were in the state sixteen Baptist churches with twelve ministers and two hundred and seventy-eight communicants, two Episcopalian ministers, and about twenty parishes, most of which were provided with priests.²⁹ By the close of the decade, the number of Baptist ministers had increased by two, the number of communicants had grown to about one thousand; the Methodists had twelve ministers and about two thousand members; five Presbyterian ministers had the care of three hundred communicants; and three Episcopalian ministers attended to the spiritual welfare of not more than two hundred adherents.³⁰

It is true that the discord between Protestants and Catholics in Louisiana reached a rather high point in the two decades before the Civil War. Yet the hostility of the growing and aggressive Anglo-American majority was then directed more towards the Irish and German Catholics, who had recently immigrated, than towards the Creoles with whom it was more easy to come to an understanding upon religion. The lay press took exceptions to alleged anti-Protestant insinuations, which appeared in the

²⁵J. H. Ingraham, *The Southwest by a Yankee*, I, 187.

²⁶*L'Abeille (The Bee)*, June 10 and 17, 1833.

²⁷J. S. Buckingham, *Slave States of America*, I, 309, 327-329.

²⁸Ingraham, *The Southwest by a Yankee*, I, 187.

²⁹H. S. Tanner, *View of the Valley of the Mississippi*, 325, 327, 329.

³⁰Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 309, 327-329.

Catholic Messenger and the *Southern Standard*, Catholic papers in New Orleans, and one journalist in 1855 enumerated among the characteristics of that year, the following: "Effervescence of religious intolerance having reached its highest degree of intensity."³¹

By some it might be expected that investigation would disclose that public education in Louisiana was much retarded because of the predominance there of the Catholic religion. That does not seem to have been the case. When the United States acquired the territory, its civilization was raw, which was due to causes other than religion. It was reported to President Jefferson that not more than half the inhabitants could read and write;³² Major Stoddard declared that a person in the country who could read and write was considered as something of a prodigy;³³ and Sparks related that it was the practice to inquire of any new grand jury who among them could write in order that he might be made foreman.³⁴ Governor Claiborne repeatedly recommended measures for the encouragement of education, believing it to be the best means of eradicating national antipathies.³⁵ He met, however, not only the difficulty of conducting schools in both languages, of raising funds, and of a certain inertia among the Creole population, but he faced also the same indifference to the benefits of public education which then prevailed among people of the other states.

By the thirties several colleges had been established, some of which were receiving annual appropriations from the state, and a statute had been in existence since 1811 providing for an annual state subsidy to one school in each county.³⁶ Whether private,

³¹*Weekly Comet* (Baton Rouge), Aug. 5, 1855.

³²"An Account of Louisiana," pamphlet, 38.

³³Amos Stoddard, *Sketches, Historical and Descriptive, of Louisiana*, 308.

³⁴W. H. Sparks, *The Memories of Fifty Years*, 377.

³⁵*Official Letter Books*, I, 346; III, 277; IV, 293.

³⁶An act passed, 1805, for the establishment of the University of Orleans—*Louisiana Gazette*, June 25, 1805. An act of March 17, 1810, appropriated \$20,000 for the establishment of a college—*Moniteur*, March 21, 1810. In 1811 the legislature appropriated \$39,000 to establish a college in the territory and a school in each parish, appropriating \$3,000 annually to the support of the former and \$500 a year to each of the latter; in 1819 the support of each parish school was increased to \$600, and in 1821 to \$800, a year; and an appropriation of \$5,000 annually was later made to the college at Jackson—*Niles's Weekly Register*, XXXI, 304, Jan. 6, 1827.

religions, or state-supported, these institutions usually taught both French and English and were attended by pupils of both populations. No effort seems to have been made in the Catholic colleges to proselyte the Protestant students who attended them.³⁷ It was said by an Anglo-American paper³⁸ that the inaugural address of Governor Derbigny, elected by the French party in 1828, was strong for education, much stronger than the two preceding messages of Governor Johnson, who represented the American party in Louisiana. In 1842 the second municipality, the Anglo-American portion of New Orleans, instituted the first real public free school with an attendance of 260 pupils, which by 1846 had grown to 1,936.³⁹ About the same time, the first municipality, or French Quarter, established a similar school for its complex elements.⁴⁰ The report of the state treasurer at the close of 1844 showed that the expenditures by the state for public education in the period 1812-1844 had amounted to \$1,710,559.40. After the constitution of 1845 had made provision for the establishment of a public school system,⁴¹ an act was passed in 1848 outlining such a system and appropriated \$550,000 for its support during the next year.⁴² The principal argument which seems to have retarded this legislation was that it would be impossible to devise a satisfactory general public common school system for such a scattered

Few parishes had taken advantage of the state appropriation before 1823—Timothy Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years*, 323-324. In the late thirties the following colleges were receiving state aid: College of Louisiana, at Jackson in E. Feliciana; Jefferson College, in St. James Parish; Franklin College, at Opelousas; and Centre and Primary Schools at New Orleans—Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 361.

³⁷Ingraham, *The Southwest by a Yankee*, I, 169, 194. He estimates that about one-third the pupils in all the schools were Americans, the others French. Both languages were spoken fluently.

³⁸*Baton Rouge Gazette*, Dec. 27, 1828.

³⁹Niles's *Weekly Register*, LXVIII, 68, April 5, 1845; *Daily Delta*, Dec. 16, 1846.

⁴⁰*De Bow's Review*, XI, 96, 1851, gives the report of the superintendent of schools of the first municipality: 2,256 scholastics registered, of whom the mother tongue of 979 was French, of 909 English, of 308 German, of 43 Spanish, of 16 Italian, and of 1 Polish. 1,163 were born in Louisiana, 306 in other states of the Union, 269 in France, 227 in Germany, 167 in Ireland, 69 in England and Scotland, 16 in Italy, 11 in Spain, and others in various countries.

⁴¹*Debates in the Convention* (1845), 951-960.

⁴²Niles's *Weekly Register*, Jan. 10, 1849, XXXV, 32.

population of such diverse languages and interests.⁴³ It was in this crucible of weakly supported colleges and a public school system "hastily cobbled up, to comply with the Constitutional provisions,"⁴⁴ where before the Civil War the French and English languages were about on a parity, that the select youths of both populations learned much of one another and to some extent wore off their mutual antipathies.

In so far as they contributed to the dissemination of general information, especially of the political or economic kind, the newspapers of Louisiana were an aid to assimilation, but since they were mostly printed in both French and English they tended to perpetuate the distinction of language. The *Moniteur de la Louisiane* was the first to make its appearance, in 1794. A semi-weekly, with never an extensive circulation,⁴⁵ and that almost wholly among the French population, it took no part in the politics of the United States and was chosen by Governor Claiborne as the vehicle for the publication of the laws in French. The *Louisiana Gazette*, semi-weekly, printed in the beginning only in English, an avowed Federalist paper, indulged at times in criticism of Claiborne's administration. The *Orleans Gazette*, a daily, and both the *Louisiana Courier* and the *Telegraph*, tri-weeklies, were printed in both French and English. Enjoying the most extended circulation, the *Courier* survived all these other early journals, and under the able editorship of Thierry and De St. Romes was a powerful force in upholding the rights of the Creole population. For the most part, however, it loyally supported the established government.⁴⁶ *L'Ami des Lois*, or *The Friend of the Laws*, printed in both French and English, made its appearance just before the close of the territorial period.

Ephemeral journals sprang up from time to time, and in 1827 there were said to be in the state some fifteen or sixteen newspapers, seven of which were in the country.⁴⁷ However, within the next five years James Stuart reported: "Ten newspapers were published in Louisiana in 1810, and now *only* nine are published.

⁴³*Weekly Delta*, April 20, 1846.

⁴⁴*The Weekly Comet* (Baton Rouge), Dec. 9, 1855.

⁴⁵Robin, *op. cit.*, II, 385, says that in 1804 it had not over eighty subscribers.

⁴⁶Claiborne to Robt. Smith, Nov. 18, 1809, *Official Letter Books*, V, 13-17, gives an appraisal of newspapers then existing.

⁴⁷*Baton Rouge Gazette*, March 31, 1827.

Louisiana is the only state in which the number of newspapers has decreased in the last twenty years . . ."⁴⁸ In 1836 *The Bee*, in analyzing the reading habits of the thirty thousand whites in New Orleans, remarked that "we may suppose that not 1 in 8 persons are subscribers to newspapers—probably not 1 in 10. Many of these 3,000 take two or more of our journals—of which there are still 4 morning and 2 evening . . . *The Bee* has about two-thirds that number; the *Bulletin* has more than one-half."⁴⁹ Three years later Buckingham pronounced *The Bee* the largest daily in New Orleans, if not in the world. *The Bee*, the *Louisianian*, the *Louisiana Advertiser*, and the *Courier* were then all printed in both French and English in the French Quarter, the *Courier* being "the most moderate, gentlemanly, and fair," and read chiefly by Creoles. The American quarter of the city had five dailies, all in English: the *Commercial Bulletin*, the *True American*, which was no honor to its name, the *Picayune*, the *Times*, and the *Sun*, the last three of which were classed as small papers containing little but puffs and jokes.⁵⁰ By 1847 the first municipality, or French Quarter, was reported to have only one newspaper, the third none, and the second, or American, ten dailies.⁵¹ *The New Orleans Crescent* and the *New Orleans Delta* were other important papers to appear before the Civil War. Commenting upon the rivalry for the office of printer for the constitutional convention of 1852, the *Delta* spoke of it as a "brisk contest between the representatives of Old Fogysm, the Bee, and Young America, the Crescent." The caucus of the convention decided 39 to 26 in favor of the *Crescent*. "And thus Young America triumphed, and great was the flow of champagne!"⁵²

The influence of the theater in Louisiana represents both a cultural force and a basis of contrasting the French and the Anglo-American populations. The attendance at the New Orleans theaters was not limited to the people of the city, but, in fact, extended to those of the entire Southwest. The first theatrical performances were wholly in French, and not until the close of 1817 is it recorded that an American company was struggling to maintain itself in the theater on St. Philip's Street. The *Louisiana*

⁴⁸Stuart, *op. cit.*, II, 245-246.

⁴⁹*The Bee*, Feb. 24, 1836.

⁵⁰Buckingham, *op. cit.*, I, 370-381.

⁵¹Niles's *Weekly Register*, July 2, 1847, LXXII, 280.

⁵²*New Orleans Weekly Delta*, July 11, 1852.

Gazette recounted the financial losses of that company and urged its support, declaring that upon its success depended the existence of "an American Theatre, in this city, for many years to come."⁵³

After the building of the splendid one-hundred-and-eighty-thousand-dollar Orleans Theater, 1819, in the French Quarter and Caldwell's American Theater, a few years later, in the American quarter of St. Mary, there were performances of high excellence and piquancy as well as of great rivalry. James Stuart pronounced the renditions at the French theater by Parisian performers as especially good, and though the admission to the boxes and pit was then two dollars the house was filled to excess.⁵⁴ In 1833-1834 the newspapers engaged in a heated controversy over the merits of the productions at the respective theaters. The *Courier* denied hostility to the American rendition, but thought itself free to criticise such a "lame" production as that of the "Beggars' Opera," the "money-making managers, a company with the same sickening grimaces and gestures every night, many of the members of which seldom deeming it of importance to learn their parts, an orchestra that cannot play a national air correctly, and nightly disturbances in the house that forbid the presence of ladies."⁵⁵ In the middle of the thirties Tyrone Power found the French theater "an exceedingly well appointed, handsome place, with a company very superior to the American one, and having its pieces altogether better mounted." It was chiefly the resort not only of Creole families, but also of many "American ladies of the best class."⁵⁶

Comments in the *Weekly Picayune* during the season 1838-1839 are vividly descriptive of the status of the New Orleans theater. "The theater in Orleans Street," this paper predicted, "will assemble all that is fine in genius and talent—the orchestra will be perfect—the *artistes* numerous, and the charms complete."⁵⁷ After attending Rossini's *Barber of Seville* at the Orleans Theater on the opening night, the reporter commented upon the large and fashionable audience, adding: "The Creoles are devoted to their

⁵³*Louisiana Gazette*, March 10, 1818; also various issues from Dec. 9, 1817, to March 21, 1818, inclusive.

⁵⁴Stuart, *op. cit.*, II, 236-237.

⁵⁵*Louisiana Courier*, May 22, 1833; Jan. 23, 28, 29, Feb. 8, 1834.

⁵⁶Tyrone Power, *Impressions of America during the Years 1833, 1834, 1835*, II, 113.

⁵⁷*Weekly Picayune*, Nov. 5, 1838.

theatre, and instead of dividing patronage among opposing interests, they apply their united energy to the support of one." This was the only way they could employ the best actors from Europe and keep them for a year. He was gratified with the "entire courtesy and easy politeness visible in every part of the house, and extended by every individual to his neighbor," the "silence observed during the performance, and the propriety of the plaudits," no actor ever being improperly interrupted.⁵⁸ Later he rejoiced at the probable reestablishment of the Italian opera in the city, since New Orleans was "the central point for all nations," and the proportion of those coming there with a love for music was about ten to three. "The Frenchman, the German, the Neapolitan and the Spaniard," he continued, "form two-thirds of our population, and the two last named nations, would, in the person of the lowest laborer, give their last dollar to the characters of their native airs."⁵⁹

But the American editors of the *Picayune* sent reporters also to the St. Charles Theater to witness an American production. The first piece was "some little trifling chickabiddy song," which was vigorously encored from the pit. During the overture, there "was a general hitching about, bustle, talking, and feeling of uneasiness and inattention." Whereupon an old Frenchman in the audience finally exclaimed:

Sacre! I 'ave nevaire see one people like dese Americaines. He 'ave no—no wat you call him, gusto for de bon music. He come to de theatre, and wen de grand overture is play superb, magnifique, he no make de applause—he no say noting. Dam, he make de row—he chaw away on apple and chestnut, and every ting, like pig, and make such disturbance, dat he keep every one from de enjoyment. Why he no do so all de time? Wen dat gal come on de stage, and begin for sing 'one petite baby catch some sleep', aha! dat is de music for him—den he clap his hand and make de grand encore all for noting. I no make no disturb anybody den—what for dey make disturb me now? Oh! mon Dieu! mon Dieu! dis is too much for one man to carry.⁶⁰

And so the French theater retained its high prestige until after the Civil War. Sir Charles Lyell pronounced its orchestra the best in America, its audience quiet and orderly, and its Creole women beautiful and handsome, "attired in Parisian fashion, not

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 1838.

⁵⁹*Weekly Picayune*, Dec. 17, 1838.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1839.

over dressed, usually not so thin as the generality of American women; their luxuriant hair tastefully arranged, fastened with ornamental pins, and adorned simply with a colored ribbon or a single flower."⁶¹ Others, too, were struck with "the charming types of half Parisians, half Creoles" who frequented this theater.⁶² When Jenny Lind visited New Orleans in 1851, she sang to crowded houses of people from the city and all the Southwest whose appreciation of good music had largely been acquired through attendance upon the French theater.⁶³

The fruits of six decades of conflict and intercourse between Creoles and Anglo-Americans in Louisiana was a society in which even today are visible the characteristics of both civilizations. It was a society in which Protestants and Catholics, though often disagreeing, were usually contented and neighborly. By means of the three chief vehicles for intellectual and artistic influence—the school, the press, and the theater—the tone of the community had been improved and something of a common standard had been cultivated. Necessarily, the more numerous Anglo-Americans were, in the two decades before the Civil War, fast sifting in a greater and greater proportion of ingredients into the compound. There is something pathetic in the spirit with which Creole leaders such as Soulé and Marigny watched the old order crumbling around them. In the state constitutional convention of 1845, Soulé declared:

The first and the third municipalities [of New Orleans] are occupied by a scattered population; they are the remnants of those that once alone occupied all the extensive territories of the State. They have yielded to the new population that have overflowed the land, and whose activity and energy have raised the State to so high a degree of prosperity. But in ceding, they are still there, and as American citizens, they have a right to be heard and consulted.

Marigny exclaimed in the same gathering:

The Anglo-Saxon race have invaded every thing. They have supremacy in both houses of the legislature. . . . I know that the Anglo-Saxon race are the most numerous and therefore the strongest. We are yet to learn whether they will abuse the possession of numerical force to overwhelm the Franco-American population.

⁶¹Charles Lyell, *A Second Visit to the United States*, II, 93.

⁶²J. J. Ampere, *Promenade in Amerique*, II, 133.

⁶³C. G. Rosenberg, *Jenny Lind in America*, 150-151.

So not even at the beginning of the Civil War was the Creole effected from his native land. He was outnumbered, his power was broken, in his political and economic relations he was trimmed to the American pattern, his tongue was being forced more and more toward English phrases, and his blood tended little by little to lose, through intermarriage, its Creole purity. But there remained of him still a distinct, if somewhat diminished, silhouette; a personality that scorned full absorption into Americanism; a lover of music, of French opera, and of blossoming gardens; a dreamy laggard on the road to progress; living like a seigneur when blest with a plantation, but if naught but a human derelict in the Acadian community, eking out a scant subsistence and a foe to change; and, whether in plenty or in poverty, an individual at all times gayer and perhaps even kinder than his neighbor, the Anglo-American.

SOME SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PUBLIC REGULATION OF THE OIL INDUSTRY

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The oil industry lends itself particularly well to analysis as regards the business and economic aspects of public regulation. The outstanding and dominating companies are few in number and tremendous in size. The business interests of the industry are clear cut. The processes from the production of the crude oil through the merchandising of the finished products are relatively simple. The market is well defined. Masses of data are available in the newspapers, oil magazines and various governmental reports. The conflict of interests between individualistic¹ operators and the older established vested interests has developed almost to the point of guerrilla warfare in the East Texas field and at Railroad Commission and Legislative considerations of the control of the industry so that some of the need, even demand, for governmental regulation has been forced upon the public attention.²

As in the cases of wheat, corn, and cotton, old Mother Earth is yielding far too much oil to suit the major interests in the industry. During the war, and shortly thereafter, when there was considerable alarm lest the oil reserves be depleted too rapidly resulting in national catastrophe, the industry, through its trade association, the American Petroleum Institute, assured us that there was no danger of shortage. It denied the existence of waste in production and requested a policy of governmental *laissez faire*. But as the curse of plenty descended upon the industry and was accentuated by the opening of the Greater Seminole Pool in 1926,

¹The word "independent" might have been used here but for the fact that this word has been used so loosely of late in identifying oil operators that it has lost any meaning that it might have had. The word "individualistic" is used instead to indicate any operator who is motivated as an "economic man." He is assumed to be stimulated by the desire for profit and to be willing and anxious to compete for any market available on a basis of workmanship and price.

²The Texas National Guard troops were used to patrol the field for sixteen months—from August 17, 1931, to December 12, 1932—ostensibly to suppress "insurrection." (Texas Constitution, Article IV, Section 7.) Minor acts of "direct action," such as blowing up pipe lines and dynamiting wells, have occurred from time to time.

the major interests were not slow in requesting assistance from the Oklahoma Corporation Commission to do indirectly what it was unable to do directly—namely, restrict production generally in order to prevent competitive bidding by individualistic operators for available markets at whatever prices oil would “fetch.” By October of the following year, 1927, the great Yates flush field required and received similar treatment by way of Texas Railroad Commission orders to prorate production to market outlets. The Winkler County pool required the same drastic governmental interference during the following year. Keeping in line with the new order of things, California obligingly controlled the new Santa Fe Springs and Long Beach fields when they came in with demoralizing flush productions in 1929. Then in 1930, when it seemed that the industry had settled upon an orderly system of controlling new pools, old Dad Joiner, a wild-catter of wild-catters, sank a drill into the edge of the gigantic East Texas Pool, sometimes called “God’s gift to the little man.”

This field has approximately 115,000 proven acres, as compared with a total of 75,000 for the eleven older leading fields in Texas, or 452 acres for Spindle Top. The major operators did not control acreage from the start and have not yet secured subservient control. As a result, the entire industry has been in a state of incipient chaos ever since East Texas began to produce in volume.

It has been a constant struggle on the part of those companies with the larger financial interests at stake to prevent the oil industry from going the way of other industries where competition has had rather free operation, and supply and demand have balanced at prices ruinously low. Fortunately for the oil industry, its product is shrouded with mystery as to its origin, uncertainty as to its location, and doubt as to the ultimate total supply. All of which has lent itself admirably to the business interests of the industry in securing governmental aid and protection against forces antagonistic to business operations for profit and too formidable to be handled by the industry itself.

Perhaps the peak of governmental control of the oil industry by the various state governmental agencies was reached on October 15, 1932.³ A brief analysis of this control as operated will, per-

³For a more complete analysis of the concerted action taken by the various state governmental regulatory bodies and tables showing the “Oil Allowable,” “New Allowables,” “Reductions in Allowables,” “Old Average Posted Price,” “New Posted Price and Difference in Average Daily Revenue” for

haps, disclose how completely governmental agencies were co-ordinated and controlled not at the direct order of any oil industry agency but at the "suggestion" of the Oil States Advisory Committee, the members of which ostensibly represented the various oil state governments. On the above date the Railroad Commission in Texas issued a production schedule for each of the thirty-two large oil producing areas of the state cancelling various previous schedules and ordering total production cut from 932,450 barrels per day to 804,801 barrels, or 127,649 barrels per day. On the same day the oil purchasing companies posted prices for the various fields from ten to twelve cents higher. In the various fields slightly more or slightly less was to have been paid for the reduced production. For the state as a whole, however, \$599 more money was to have been paid for 127,649 barrels less oil.

Similarly in Oklahoma, production allowables were ordered reduced by the Corporation Commission, the control agency in that state, and new prices were posted by the industry. As a result \$30,000 was to be paid for 16,000 barrels less oil. In Kansas the new prices rewarded the producers to the extent of \$12,000 per day for less oil and corresponding advantages were presented to producers in Louisiana and Arkansas. All changes were made in the name of "conservation." The changes or orders affecting every oil field in the Mid-Continent area and involving the co-ordination of several state control agencies suggest that the plan must have been worked out carefully in advance and opposition to it eliminated. With the adoption of the plan, the price of gasoline was strengthened.

State courts have generally upheld state oil regulatory orders. Unfortunately for the major forces of control within the oil industry, however, the Federal courts have not seen real conservation as the substance behind the form of the orders of the Texas Railroad Commission. In fact, in striking them down the Federal courts have referred to them as "pretense, subterfuge, and chicanery"⁴ for the purpose of cloaking the real object, namely, price fixing. But as long as the Railroad Commission could write

each oil field in Texas, see "Operators Get More Money for Less Oil with Output Balanced," *Oil Weekly*, October 17, 1932, p. 8.

⁴*Alfred MacMillan et al v. The Railroad Commission of Texas et al*, in the District Court of the United States for the Western District of Texas, Austin Division, No. 390 Equity.

new orders and have them ready when the Federal court's decisions were announced,⁵ the Commission could continue to regulate production in Texas. Injunctions have endangered such infirm control, however, and the recent order for the members of the Railroad Commission to appear in Federal court at Sherman on April 8 on charges of contempt of court has brought the situation to a head. Final action on this contempt charge has been withheld, but it has not been withdrawn. In their present situation, the individual members of the Railroad Commission face jail sentence for contempt of Federal court if they again issue similar orders violating individuals' rights protected under the Federal Constitution to replace those struck down by Federal courts. Deprived of the use of the National Guard in Texas by the United States Supreme Court decision December 12, 1932,⁶ hedged by the issuance of injunctions and restraining orders by both state and Federal judges, and denied prompt issuance of similar orders to replace those declared illegal, the oil industry faces an *impasse*.

Even at the risk of over-simplifying the situation, allow me to try to state briefly in simple arithmetic some of the difficulties that are in the way of control of oil production under present conditions. The market demand for crude oil for the United States is roughly 2,100,000 barrels per day. Oil is produced in varying quantities under the laws of eighteen states, but principally in

⁵Thus, the January 10, 1933, order of the Railroad Commission prorating the East Texas field was declared illegal on March 17. The following statements from a report in the *Oil Weekly* of March 20, 1933, seem to indicate clearly the attitude of some members of the industry toward such illegal orders of the Railroad Commission. "The stand taken by the court in deciding the various points raised by fifty-odd operators and companies taking part in the attack on the Commission's rules was generally forecast before the conclusion of the trial on the case at Houston, January 27 to 31. The Commission likewise felt that such would be the outcome, so cancelled the proration orders under fire on March 10, and substituted an emergency order. . . ." (Italics by the author.)

⁶See *Constantine v. Smith*, 57 F (2nd) 227, 231 (E. D. Tex. 1932). In this decision Mr. Chief Justice Hughes, speaking for a unanimous court, said in part: "The question before us is simply with respect to the Governor's attempt to regulate by executive order the lawful use of complainant's properties in the production of oil. Instead of affording them protection in the lawful exercise of their rights as determined by the courts, he sought, by his executive orders, to make this exercise impossible. . . ." *Yale Law Journal*, Volume 42, 19, March, 1933.

three: Texas, California, and Oklahoma. The federal constitution specifically forbids state compacts without the sanction of Congress.⁷ Of the 330,000 odd wells producing oil daily, over 303,000 wells are definitely stripper wells. Yet they average three and one-half barrels per day or a daily total of 1,060,000 barrels, or about 50 per cent of the national needs.⁸ They are the backbone of the industry and represent millions of dollars of vested interests. If continued, they promise their bit for years. There are in addition 14,000 odd so-called marginal wells which average fourteen barrels per day and give a daily total production of 199,300 barrels. There is left about 840,000 barrels daily production to be allocated among the flush wells of the nation. The 10,000 East Texas wells could produce this amount running open flow during a small part of each day, for according to the official figures of the Railroad Commission resulting from tests of 298 key wells, throughout the field taken during the period of April 6 to April 24 when the entire field was shut down for that specific purpose, the daily potential production of this mammoth field is 123,000,000 barrels. Even though the field would probably not maintain any such production, the indication is plain that this field must be controlled to prevent flooding the market with oil and demoralizing the price structure.

The chief reason why the East Texas field in particular must be controlled is that there are 1,050 individuals, partnerships, and corporations operating one or more leases in the total of 115,000 proven acres. Twenty-four larger companies control 79,270 acres and have 5,789 wells.⁹ But the other 35,730 acres with 3,911 producing wells have not as yet been brought under the control of the so-called "majors." Many of these operators are individualists. They are motivated by the economic virtues of self-interest or greed as were their predecessors. Like farmers and others saturated with individualistic ideas of "self-help and sharp practice," they respond slowly to either coercion or collusion. Protection to such "rugged individualists" is written into the laws of the land

⁷Article I, Section 10, Paragraph 3: "No state shall without the consent of Congress . . . enter into agreement or compact with another state, or with a foreign power. . . ." State compacts such as the Colorado River compact between states interested in the Hoover dam first received the blessing of Congress before action could be taken in the field.

⁸See, "Low Prices Spell Shut-Down of 100,000 Wells," by H. J. Struth, Staff Economist, in the *Oil Weekly*, July 17, 1931.

⁹See, *Oil Weekly*, Feb. 27, 1933, p. 40.

from the Constitution of the United States down through innumerable court decisions. These operators control hundreds of millions of barrels of oil underground which many of them desire to produce as soon as possible, at whatever the price may be. They are only asking that the old economic "rules of the game" be continued, that they be permitted to operate under the rules of free competition as were their predecessors in the oil business.

From the point of view of the older interests in the oil industry, now vested interests, the oil industry faces the same problem as all others cursed with surplus producing capacity. In order to continue operating at a profit by the business-like process of "charging what the traffic will bear," production must be controlled and curtailed in order to increase or maintain prices. In simple terms, it is the problem of many businesses beyond the pioneering stages, but more apparent in the oil industry than in most industries, *i.e.*, effective salesmanship and sabotage; salesmanship restricted to competition among the members of the industry for the closed market at prices that will provide the highest possible returns on capitalized earnings saddled upon the industry as fixed charges, and sabotage in the conscientious limitation of production in order to maintain scarcity value that threatens to diminish markedly.¹⁰ Competition in the older form of workmanship and of price is taboo, because it is antagonistic to the largest possible profits. Thus, under the threat of complete free competition in the East Texas field and since the threat of contempt of court proceedings has been held over the heads of the members of the Railroad Commission by the Federal court, the posted price for oil in East Texas has dropped to ten cents per barrel. A year ago last August, just before the East Texas field was shut down at the point of bayonets, oil sold for as low as two cents per barrel. As soon as the Supreme Court decision, already referred to (*Constantin v. Smith*), which declared the use of National Guardsmen unconstitutional, was handed down sixteen months later, the posted price which had been raised to \$1.10 per barrel dropped to \$.75 within four days. It might have gone considerably lower if the field had not been closed entirely on the sixth day. This action was taken seemingly to prevent it, but

¹⁰For a fuller discussion of the business-like methods of salesmanship and sabotage and the capitalizing of hoped-for earnings in the shape of fixed charges on industry, see Veblen, Thorstein, *Absentee Ownership*, Chapters VIII, IX, and XII.

officially it was a "conservation" measure. The present national consumption of oil is at the rate of about 800,000,000 barrels per year. At ten cents per barrel it would bring \$80,000,000.¹¹ At \$1.10 per barrel it would bring \$880,000,000. But whatever the difference may be between the price of crude oil as it would be under free competition and what it is permitted, or forced to be under governmental restriction of production, that difference is obviously due to governmental interference. Scarcity value is increased or created by proration of production by governmental action.

The price of crude oil is particularly important to the major interests for three reasons. In the first place, they produce from their own wells the bulk of the oil that they transport through their own pipe lines, refine in their own refineries, and market at their own filling stations. Hence, it is important to enter in the companies' books at high prices the hundreds of millions of barrels of oil produced each year. They usually buy the one-eighth royalty oil, as well as considerable oil from other producers, but on the whole the major interests now dominate all important fields with the exception of the Oklahoma City and the East Texas fields, and their interests as producers at high prices outweigh their interests as buyers at low prices. (This explains in part the paradox of oil purchasing companies desiring to maintain high posted prices for oil that they purchase.) In the second place, high prices for crude furnish a better basis for high prices for gasoline and other finished products. The long-suffering and generally inarticulate consuming public may weary of paying fifteen cents or more per gallon of gasoline while crude is bringing but ten cents per barrel of forty-two gallons. Pennies are becoming scarcer to many of our citizenry and one penny in the

¹¹It is often argued that 10 cent oil will ruin the oil industry. It is fallacious, however, to assume that low prices can ruin an otherwise great industry. Individuals in the industry may be ruined by low prices, as farmers and laborers in various industries have found out to their sorrow, but the industries themselves continue. Thus, although hundreds of millions of dollars of capitalized values now carried on companies' books as fixed charges might fail to pay dividends for years and become absolutely worthless, the oil wells, pipe lines, refineries, and filling stations would remain. Individuals, not the physical components of the industry, would feel the effect of free competition as it transferred wealth from one group of society to another or from one group in the industry to another group in the same industry.

retail price of gasoline means approximately \$500,000 per day to the industry from the nation's consumers.¹² In the third place, and perhaps by far the most important, high prices for crude make it more difficult for individualistic refiners in such an area as East Texas to compete with larger and more efficient plants amply supplied with crude oil when the smaller refineries are forced to buy their crude at high prices, even though in some cases they own or control flowing wells. East Texas refineries have been selling gasoline lately as low as two cents per gallon, f.o.b., or eighty-four cents per barrel.¹³ This is considerably less than the posted price for the crude (\$1.10) when the field was under illegal National Guard control. The latest count shows fifty-three refineries in the East Texas area varying in capacity from 250 to 15,000 barrel capacity with total capacity of 101,150 barrels per day. New plants are reported as springing up almost daily.¹⁴

From a purely statistical standpoint, it would seem that the oil industry should be in almost if not the worst condition of any of the nation's industries. There is sufficient oil in sight in the hands of individualists who want to produce it to threaten the market for several years unless production by them is effectively controlled or their field is efficiently ruined in the near future. If free competition were allowed to break out among producers and refiners, prices of finished products would come toppling down all over the country and capital structures consisting of stocks, bonds, and mortgages would crumble, perhaps as badly or worse than in other industries. In contrast, it was reported to President Hoover last October by the Federal Oil Conservation Board that the "American oil industry gives indication of being the first basic industry to emerge from the world depression."¹⁵ Five members of the Standard Oil group alone were able to pay \$181,000,000 cash dividends last year, regulars and extras, while most industries were decidedly "in the red."¹⁶ In addition, many millions of

¹²This estimate is based on the figures for gasoline production for the United States for 1931, 437,888,000 barrels, contained in the Babson Statistical Organization *Desk Sheet*, July, 1932.

¹³See, "Market Statistics," *Oil Weekly*, May 8, 1933, p. 35.

¹⁴See, "East Texas Refining Plants Grow in Number and Size," in the *Oil Weekly*, April 3, 1933, p. 41.

¹⁵See, Report V of the Federal Oil Conservation Board to the President of the United States, October, 1932, p. 1.

¹⁶For a further study of profits in the oil industry during 1932, see *Oil and Gas Journal*, December 1, 1932, p. 50.

profits were plowed back into the businesses in the shape of thousands of additional acres leased, hundreds of wells drilled, miles of pipe lines laid, refinery equipment installed, and new and unnecessary filling stations established. Profits were also realized by other leading members of the industry. Though not generally as large as in 1931, they averaged well above the five-year average, which was the most profitable five-year period in the history of the industry. If it be considered that the object of any business is the quest for profits at the cost of any whom it may concern, the oil industry has been very business-like.

The oil industry has been highly organized and in strong hands during recent years before and since the curse of plenty descended upon the land. The Standard Oil group has continued to maintain a position of considerable power and influence despite the dissolution decree of the Supreme Court in 1911 and the refusal of the State of Texas to allow Standard Oil Companies to operate within the limits of the State in their own names.¹⁷ The large so-called independents are few in number and seem generally to recognize a community of interest with the Standard group. Both groups and their various subsidiaries are brought together in a great and powerful trade association known as the American Petroleum Institute, or as the A. P. I., for short. Among the chief activities of this organization are those which may be regarded as relating to the government of the industry: the establishment and enforcement of standards of business practices and "codes of ethics"; the gathering of statistics, and carrying on of industrial research; the representing of the interests of the members before governmental bodies; the restriction of competition and discouragement of price-cutting. The importance of the association may be indicated to a slight extent by the fact that the president is paid a salary of \$75,000 per year, which equals that of the President of the United States. Some of the most skilled lawyers in the country and experts of various kinds are retained, or available from the staffs of the various member companies. Various local chapters are established over the country. It is a very workmanlike body organized for a big job.

In addition to the A. P. I., there is another important trade association known as the Independent Petroleum Association, or I. P. A. Its object, like that of the A. P. I., or any other trade

¹⁷See, *Waters Pierce Oil Company v. State of Texas*, decided March 19, 1900, 19 *Texas Civil Appellate* 1, 44 S. W. 936.

association,¹⁸ is to advance the pecuniary interests of its members at the expense of any whom it may concern. Its members are not, in a number of cases, as independent as the name of the association would indicate, for many of them are subsidiaries of the major companies, while others are closely tied to them through contracts, loans, and business deals of one kind or another.¹⁹ The interests of both groups appear naturally allied in exploiting the consumers of their products. Whether by coercion or by collusion, a united front seems usually to be presented on major issues involving sabotage through restriction of production and salesmanship within the closed market. Before legislative bodies and public hearings held by governmental commissions, however, the appearance of a conflict of interests is well presented by these two trade associations. If a united front were presented consistently, the conflict between the business interests of the industry as a unit and the general good of the purchasing public might be too apparent for continued operation without changes favorable to the consumers. Attention is diverted by the lively and sometimes apparently bitter give and take between opposing factions. But so long as the conflict of interests does not degenerate into open competition in the shape of price and workmanship which benefit the consuming public and affect adversely the total profits of the industry, it seems that community of interests, either by collusion or coercion, prevails in reconciling opposing interests within the industry. And prices of crude and finished products have been maintained above competitive prices²⁰ at as close as possible to that most profitable level of "what the traffic will bear."

¹⁸For a discussion of the aims and objects of trade associations in general, see Sumner Slichter, *Modern Economic Society*, Chapters VII and VIII.

¹⁹In a telegram to Secretary of Interior H. L. Ickes dated March 29, 1933, S. W. Adams, editor and owner of the *Gladewater Journal*, wired in part: . . . "Recently it was stated by an eminent attorney before a legislative committee in Austin, with a large number of Roeser's crowd present, that they were not in truth and in fact independents, but persons controlled by the major oil companies through loans as great as nine hundred thousand dollars to an individual. This was not denied. This eminent attorney said that a certain court procedure revealed that over 147 of these individuals had either loans or contracts with the Humble Oil Company. . . ." *Gladewater Journal*, March 31, 1933, p. 1.

²⁰By "competitive prices" are meant those prices which tend to result from the free operation of unrestricted competition upon both supply and demand.

These two trade associations have also served to concentrate attention upon themselves and divert attention from the complaints of what I have called individualistic members of the oil industry—members who want to operate under the old rules of the game: free competition, *laissez faire*, individualism. There have always been such individuals in the production end of the business. As new fields have come in, however, the major interests have been rather successful in quickly securing the dominant position and have been able to control or buy out disturbing elements. But in the East Texas field the number of newcomers anxious to follow in the footsteps of such pioneers as John D. Rockefeller has been too great, the acreage they control too productive, the forty degree gravity crude too easily refined in inexpensive skimming plants, and the field too near markets for the majors to prevent the old law of the jungle, free competition, asserting itself without the very positive assistance of the Texas National Guard, the Texas Rangers, the Legislature, the Governor, the courts, and the Railroad Commission, as needed. These individualistic operators are as yet disorganized and rather poorly supplied with the sinews of war—ready cash. Many of them have already given up the struggle as practically hopeless. Whether the balance can be brought into harmony with the major interests of the industry either by coercion or by collusion remains to be seen. From a legal point of view, they seem to have rights that are bound to be protected by the courts, if they can continue to fight for them long and hard enough. The major interests have recently rather successfully tied-in their interests with those of the general public in a new philosophy that has reversed the dictum of Adam Smith: the industry in promoting the public welfare may best further its own selfish interests. Public opinion is thus turned against rugged individualists whose acts of self-interest tend to tear down a great industry.

From a conservation point of view, there is considerable question as to whether public regulation of the oil industry as operated to date has conserved a single barrel of oil-net. Oil experts are not agreed as to whether flush oil should be produced rapidly or slowly in order to best utilize the reservoir energies and recover the most oil. Conservation as practiced has paid too little attention to the study of the natural laws of physics and chemistry affecting the oil pools as a geologic unit, of the scientific spacing and drilling of wells on the structure, and of the efficient

utilization of gas energy and of hydrostatic pressure to command much respect as real conservation measures.²¹ Too much attention has been paid to determination of how many barrels of oil shall be produced, where, and by whom, so as to balance supply and demand, at some price, for consideration of supply and demand is meaningless without the third and most important member of the triumvirate, *price*. Demand at low prices seems to be either completely ignored or roundly denounced. It is estimated that only 20 to 40 per cent of the oil in pools is recovered by present methods of production. Unit operation of oil pools under the administration of competent petroleum production engineers might remedy most of the defects in present methods and really conserve many hundreds of millions of barrels of oil. It is true that some legal changes in our laws with regard to property rights might be required. But the property rights of many individuals have been so flagrantly violated in the name of a conservation that is at least questionable, that it seems possible that the Supreme Court might sanction the changes that would require unit operation of oil pools and the protection of correlative rights in the common pool. It might be advisable, for the present, to prohibit the wild-cattling or development of any new pools.

In conclusion, business units in the oil industry are individualistic; in fact, the Sherman anti-trust act of 1890 together with state laws and innumerable court decisions require them to be. They are also, by their very nature, opportunistic and profit-seeking at the expense of any whom it may concern. In these respects they may be considered anti-social. Conservation of oil on the other hand is a social problem. It is larger than East Texas or the State of Texas. It involves the nation's resources and should be planned on a national scale. Individual business units in the oil industry can scarcely be expected to be sentimental about such an intangible or metaphysical abstraction as conservation, unless it lends itself to the object of business; *i.e.*, profits. And conservation as practiced does lend itself to business profits to some members of the industry while denying other members an opportunity to benefit from opportunities available. Handling the problem in various ways in different fields and different states with no program or real concept of what it is all about, makes

²¹For a more complete discussion of methods of producing crude oil, see G. W. Stocking, *The Oil Industry and the Competitive System, A Study in Waste*, (Boston, 1925).

it appear that the public regulation as now practiced in the name of conservation is obviously a smoke screen covering a price-fixing program. The oil industry has, in fact, profited relatively greatly during the period of the depression when statistically it has greater surplus producing capacity than most industries now largely liquidated. The nation's expendable income is clearly some total that may be regarded as 100 per cent, and if one industry is enabled to draw off unto itself an inordinately large part of this income in good years and bad, it is of concern to other industries competing for shares, as for example beer and movies, which may be considered competitors with gasoline. It is also of concern to the 24,276,000²² automobile and truck owners and users who pay the freight. Governmental regulation has prevented the chaos threatened by the conflicting interests between individualists on the one hand and older vested interests anxious to retain the *status quo*. The economic scriptures have stated clearly for over a century and a half: "Free competition giveth and free competition taketh away. Blessed is free competition." It may be that general economic planning is soon to replace competition as the governor of our economic mechanism. Whether or not this takes place, this study seems to indicate that present plans have been opportunistic and profit-seeking for the benefit of some members rather than comprehensive and conservative for the good of all individuals in the oil industry and of society in general.

²²*Facts and Figures*, National Automobile Chamber of Commerce, 1932.

RACIAL, NATIONAL, AND NATIVITY TRENDS IN TEXAS, 1870-1930

By MATTIE LLOYD WOOTEN
Texas State College for Women

1. RACIAL COMPOSITIONS

Race or color is classified in six groups, according to the United States Census reports: namely, white, negro, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and "all others." The Census Report for 1930 is the first to deviate from this scheme and make a distinction between whites and Mexicans. The major part of the population of Texas, however, is made up of whites and negroes, Mexicans being included in the white group. I have chosen, therefore, to depart from the plan of the United States Census, and have made a racial analysis upon a basis of three divisions: whites, blacks, and others—"others" designating all those not found in the two above named categories.

White Population.—The white population of Texas has increased approximately seven-fold in the decade between 1870-1930. The explanation for this rapid increase undoubtedly is traceable to a variety of sources. There has been, on the one hand, the natural increase coming from an excess of births over deaths, while on the other hand, the process of immigration cannot be ignored as a necessary factor in understanding the changing numbers. Much of the immigration to Texas has been internal rather than external in nature; for as a matter of fact, the foreign-born white group instead of increasing along with the general population, to the contrary, has shown a decided downward trend from 7.6 per cent in 1870 to 1.7 per cent in 1930, except for the single variation in 1920. Much of the increase in the population of Texas, therefore, has come not from abroad, but from immigrants coming from other states of the United States. The native stock from the devastated region of the Old South came in particularly large numbers during the period of reconstruction.

Negro Population.—The United States Census Report reveals that 30.9 per cent of the population of Texas belonged to the negro race one decade after the beginning of the Civil War. While in 1870 the figures for the population of the United States as a whole show only 13.5 per cent of population to be negroes. There has

been, nevertheless, a steady decline in the negro population in both the nation and in the state, but a much more marked decline has occurred in Texas than in the nation as a whole. The negro population in the United States has decreased from 13.5 per cent to 9.7 per cent during the interim from 1870 to 1930, while Texas during the same period has experienced a decrease of from 30.9 per cent to 14.7 per cent.

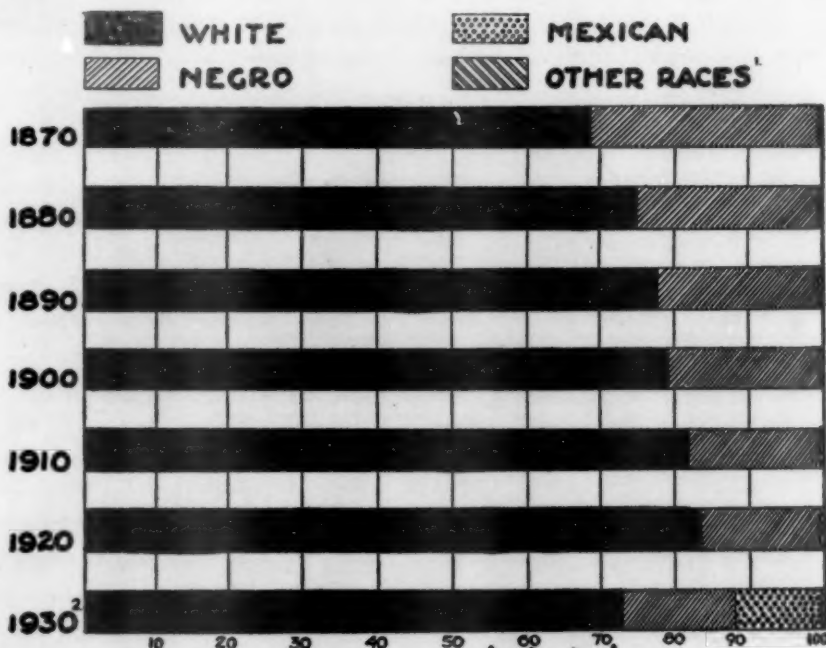


FIG. 1.—Percentage of racial distribution:
1870 - 1930

1. There is less than .1% belonging to "other races" in Texas.
2. Persons of Mexican birth or parentage who were not definitely reported as white or Indian were designated "Mexican" in 1930.

An explanation of this very noticeable decline in the negro population in the State during the period from 1870 to 1930 involves a multiplicity of factors, the understanding of which would necessitate considerable investigation. Among other things, such matters as the falling birth rate, the high death rate, and the negro immigration to northern industrial centers would have to be considered in order to arrive at conclusions and generalizations of any value.

All Other Races.—The census reports for 1870 and 1880 record in the population of Texas the presence of only a few Indians and Chinese. Both groups fell well below 500 in the year of 1870, and the two combined barely exceeded the thousand mark by 1880. Three Japanese were in the count in 1890, while the Indian and Chinese populations showed little growth; in fact, the Indian population actually registered a decline. Today the Japanese and Chinese together scarcely reach 1,200 in number, and the Indian population is negligible, being made up of few straggling Indians from the reservations in adjacent states and the small group of

TABLE I

COMPARISON OF THE WHITE AND NEGRO POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES AND TEXAS,
1870-1930

| Years | NUMBERS | | | | PER CENT | | | |
|-------|---------------|------------|-----------|---------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|
| | United States | | Texas | | United States | | Texas | |
| | White | Negro | White | Negro | White | Negro | White | Negro |
| 1870 | 33,589,370 | 4,880,009 | 564,700 | 253,475 | 86.2 | 13.5 | 69 | 30.9 |
| 1880 | 43,402,970 | 6,782,993 | 1,197,237 | 393,384 | 86.5 | 13.1 | 75.29 | 24.7 |
| 1890 | 55,101,258 | 7,480,676 | 1,745,935 | 488,171 | 87.5 | 11.9 | 78.09 | 21.9 |
| 1900 | 66,809,176 | 8,833,944 | 2,426,669 | 620,772 | 87.9 | 11.6 | 79.59 | 20.4 |
| 1910 | 81,731,957 | 9,827,763 | 3,204,848 | 690,049 | 88.9 | 10.7 | 82.2 | 17.7 |
| 1920 | 95,521,456 | 10,463,131 | 3,918,165 | 741,964 | 89.7 | 9.9 | 83.8 | 15.9 |
| 1930 | 110,286,740 | 11,891,430 | 4,967,172 | 854,964 | 89.9 | 9.7 | 85.2 | 14.7 |

Alabama Indians found on Texas' only Indian reservation near Livingston in Polk County. During the last three decades, there have appeared a few Koreans, Hindus, and Filipinos, but they are of no consequence as races in Texas. It is interesting to note that in the Census for 1930 the Mexicans are reported as a separate race, and that they constitute more than one-tenth of the present population of Texas.

2. NATIONALITY COMPOSITION

The foreign-born population in the State of Texas during this sixty-year period has corresponded very closely to that of the nation as a whole. That is, the foreign-born group in Texas as, also in the United States, has been represented chiefly by the white race, with only the rarest sprinkling of foreign-born yellows and blacks. These last named races are of such insignificance in Texas that they have not been included in the figures illustrating the various foreign-born elements in the State.

Mexico and Germany have been the greatest contributors to the foreign-born population of Texas. Germany held first place in 1870 and in 1930, supplying 38.2 per cent in the former decade and 27.2 per cent in the latter. Mexico has ranked first in all other years, reaching the phenomenal heights of 51.3 per cent in 1910 and 68.4 per cent in 1920. In 1930, however, Mexico shows almost a complete drop, with only 3.8 per cent, and ranks seventh among the nations supplying foreign-born to Texas.

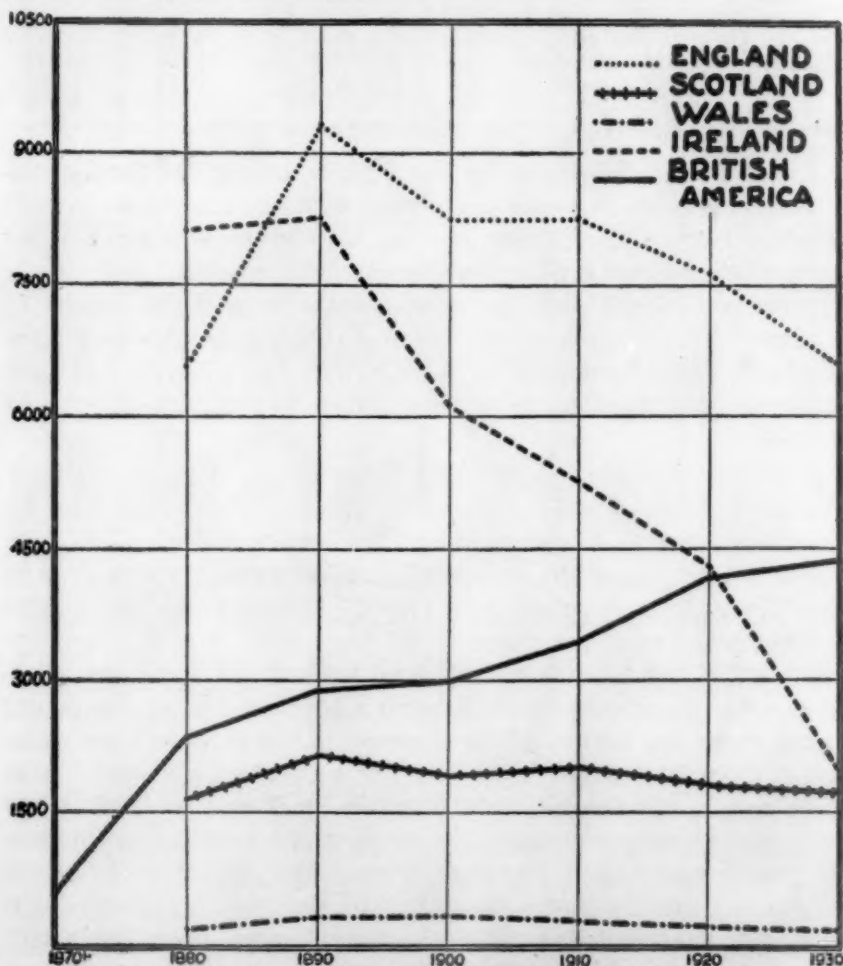


Fig. 2.— Number of foreign-born population from Great Britain and British America.

1. Divisions of Great Britain not given 1870 — Total 6762

TABLE II

NUMBER OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION ACCORDING TO COUNTRIES
CONTRIBUTING THE LARGEST NUMBERS

| Countries | Years | | |
|--|--------|---------|--------|
| | 1870 | 1920 | 1930 |
| All Countries | 62,411 | 363,832 | 98,396 |
| Mexico | 23,020 | 249,652 | 3,693 |
| Germany | 23,985 | 31,062 | 25,913 |
| Great Britain (England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales) | 6,762 | 14,124 | 11,676 |
| Bohemia (Czecho-Slovakia) | 781 | 12,819 | 12,228 |
| Austria | 1,748 | 6,441 | 3,300 |
| Italy | 186 | 8,024 | 6,550 |

Great Britain has held the third place among the foreign nations represented in Texas every year with one exception; in 1910 Austria ranked first. The change here gives Austria 8.4 per cent, while 6.7 per cent reflects Great Britain's lag. Among the divisions of Great Britain, England shows a slight excess in foreign-born population with Ireland running second, and Scotland and Wales considerably behind. British America has been relatively unimportant as a contributor to the foreign-born of Texas.

Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, Poland, Austria, Hungary, Russia, Italy, Bohemia, or Czechoslovakia as it is known since the Treaty of Versailles, have added a fairly constant, but small number from time to time to the foreign-born population of Texas. Bohemia has contributed decidedly the largest number from the above named group for 1910, when the partition of Poland among the Germans, Austrians, and Russians swelled Austria's count in Texas. In recent years, there has been a slight decrease in the foreign-born population from Italy and Russia, but not a conspicuous one. There were only 5,476 foreign-born Russians in Texas in 1930, while Italy had about one thousand more than did Russia. From time to time Greece, Spain, Portugal, West Indies, South and Central America, Palestine, and a few other divisions show some foreign-born, but the number is of slight importance. Only Spain and Portugal of the above mentioned appear in every census report, and only once did either of the two show as many as one thousand foreign-born—in 1920, the census reported Spain as having 1,081 foreign-born in Texas.

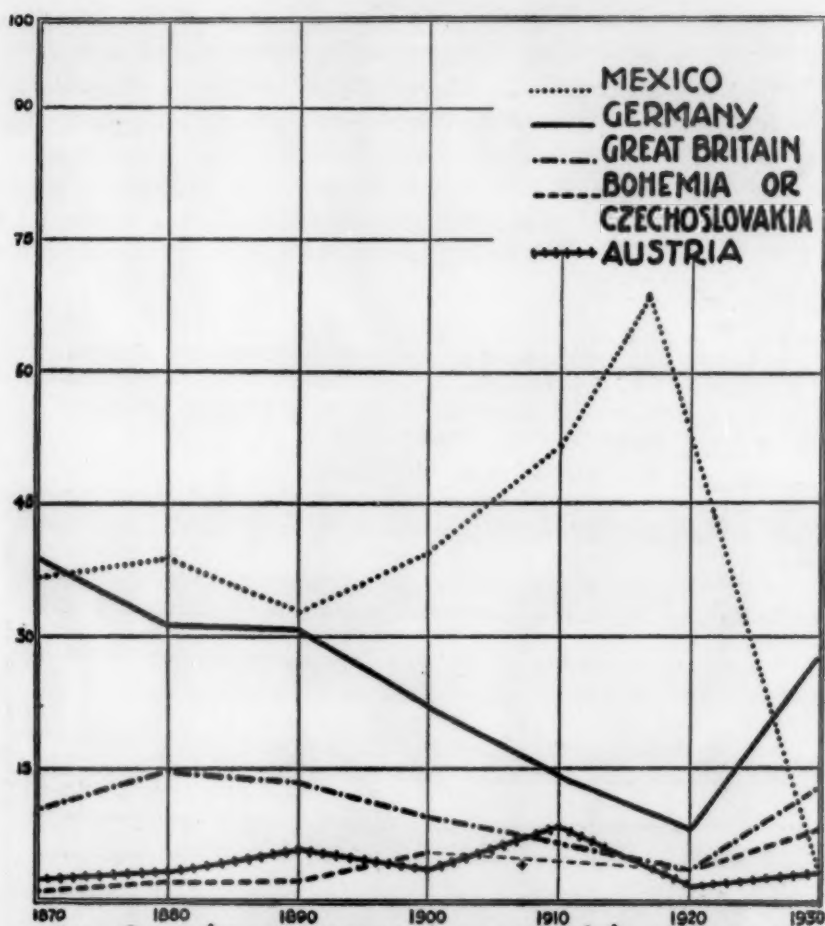


FIG. 3.—Percentage of foreign-born population from countries showing greatest numbers 1870-1930.
 † not reported in 1910.

3. NATIVITY AND PARENTAGE OF THE POPULATION

Classification of the nativity and parentage of the population is somewhat complicated because neither the census report for 1870 nor 1880 makes a distinction between natives of native parentage and natives of native white parentage. In Figure 4, however, I have followed the plan of the United States Census in so far as possible, that is, dividing the white population into three groups: (1) natives of native parentage—both parents born in the United States; (2) natives of foreign or mixed parentage—

having one or both parents born abroad—in some reports this second group is divided into two parts, namely, (a) natives of foreign parentage, that is, having both parents born abroad; and (b) natives of mixed parentage—having one parent native and the other foreign-born; (3) foreign-born.

The classification of the non-white group is omitted from the census. The explanation for the omission is that it is made up chiefly of negroes and Indians who are with few exceptions native of native parentage.

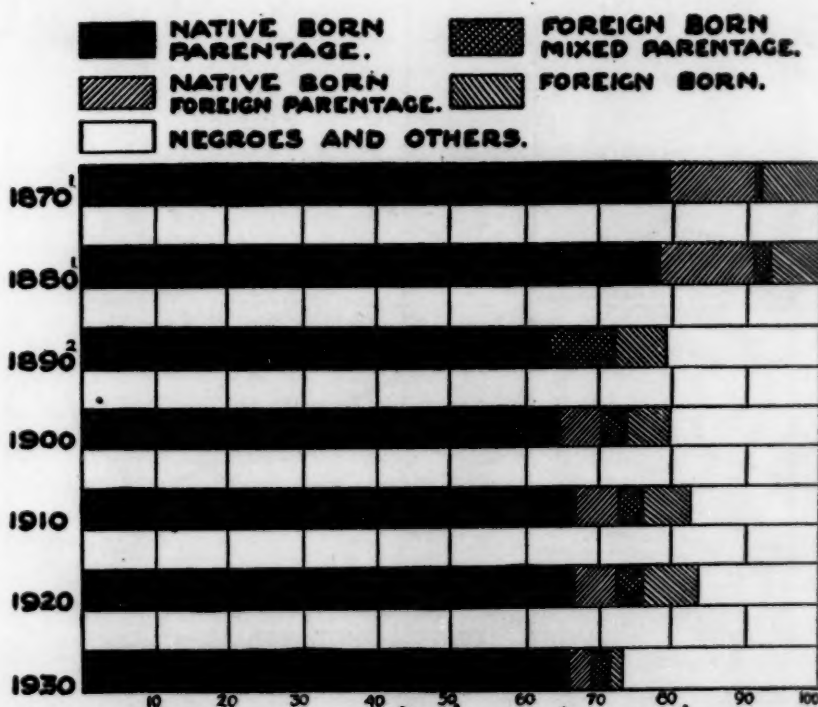


Fig. 4.—Percentage of nativity and parentage of the white population: 1870-1930.

¹ No separate statistics for native born white population
² Report combines mixed and foreign parentage

During the period from 1890 to 1930, the population of native-born white parentage has shown a slight increase; in 1890 the percentage was 63, Mexicans included, while in 1930 the increase over this figure was 3.2 per cent, Mexicans excluded. It can be seen from Figure 4 that the population of native whites of mixed

or foreign parentage shows no unusual variation before 1930, when the decrease is very recognizable. The foreign-born, on the other hand, appear to have remained fairly constant through the years, reflecting a slight decrease except for the phenomenal drop from 7.7 per cent in 1920 to 1.7 in 1930. The return of a large portion of the Mexican population to Mexico is, perhaps, the most logical explanation for this change.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE SOUTH- WESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION

The fourteenth annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association was held in the Baker Hotel, Dallas, Texas, April 14 and 15, 1933. The program, corrected as far as possible, was as follows:

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 9:00 A.M.

Agricultural Economics Section English Room (Mezzanine)

Chairman: C. A. Wiley, The University of Texas.

Economic Planning for Agriculture in the Southwest:

Research Program in Relation to Economic Planning, C. O. Brannen, University of Arkansas.

Extension Program in Relation to Economic Planning, T. L. Gaston, Mississippi State College.

Suggested Organization to Facilitate Agricultural Planning, J. T. Sanders, Oklahoma A. and M.

Discussion: C. H. Robinson, Bureau of Agricultural Economics. Frank A. Briggs, Editor, *Farm and Ranch*.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 9:00 A.M.

Business Administration and Economics Sections (Joint Session) South Room (Seventeenth Floor)

Chairman: C. C. Fitchner, University of Arkansas.

Recovery of Business

The Problem of Monetary Stabilization, A. S. Lang, Baylor University.

Discussion: M. K. Graham, Graham, Texas.

Inflation, Arthur B. Adams, University of Oklahoma.

Discussion: P. W. Milam, University of Arkansas.

Interallied Debts and Tariffs, G. W. Stocking, The University of Texas.

Discussion: E. A. Elliott, Texas Christian University.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 9:00 A.M.

Government Section Room No. 1 (Mezzanine)

Chairman: C. Perry Patterson, The University of Texas.

The Academic Approach to Municipal Government and Administration

Finding a Place for the University Trained Municipal Administrator, E. W. Steel, Texas A. and M. College.

Discussion: City Manager George D. Fairtrace, Fort Worth, Texas.

The Relations Between the University and the Government of the City, Hugo Wall, University of Wichita.

Discussion: City Manager John N. Edy, Dallas, Texas.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 9:00 A.M.

History Section English Room Junior (Mezzanine)

Chairman: R. L. Bieseke, The University of Texas.

Financial Administration in Nicaragua, 1912-1925, Anna Powell, North Texas State Teachers College.

Round Table

Southwestern Culture Prior to 1850, S. W. Geiser, Southern Methodist University.

Round Table

The Commercial Relations Between the Republic of Texas and the United States, C. T. Neu, East Texas State Teachers College.

Discussion: J. L. Clark, Sam Houston State Teachers College.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 9:30 A.M.

Human Geography Section

Room No. 2 (Mezzanine)

Symposium: *Agricultural Resources and Their Development in the Southwest*
Chairman, Elmer H. Johnson.

Soil Resources and Agricultural Production in the Southwest, Elmer H. Johnson, The University of Texas.

An Agricultural Analysis of the Southwest, Carl Robinson, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Austin, Texas.

The Vegetable Industry of Texas, G. D. Clark, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Austin, Texas.

Ranch Reorganization and the Future of Ranching in Texas, V. V. Parr, Executive Manager, Pitchfork Ranch, Spur, Texas.

The Natural Vegetation of Oklahoma, C. W. Thornthwaite, University of Oklahoma.

The Agricultural Development of the Panhandle, J. D. Tinsley, General Agricultural Agent, the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, Amarillo, Texas.

Discussion: Victor H. Schoffelmayer, the *Dallas News*, and J. T. Sanders, Oklahoma Agricultural College.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 9:30 A.M.

Sociology Section

Room No. 3 (Mezzanine)

Chairman: T. C. McCormick, University of Arkansas.

Secretary: Mrs. M. L. Wooten, College of Industrial Arts, Denton, Texas.

Teaching Sociology in the Southwest

Non-Sectarian Universities and Professional Schools, Warner E. Gettys, The University of Texas.

Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges, Daniel Russell, Texas A. and M. College.

Sectarian Colleges and Theological Schools, W. C. Smith, Texas Christian University.

State Teachers Colleges, Alvin Good, Louisiana State Normal.

Women's Colleges and Junior Colleges, Miss Jessie H. Humphries, Texas State College for Women, Denton, Texas.

High Schools, Rush M. Caldwell, Woodrow Wilson High School, Dallas, Texas.

Open Discussion.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 12:30 P.M.

Economics Luncheon Conference

Room No. 1 (Mezzanine)

Presiding Officer: S. H. Moore, Southern Methodist University.

Economic Planning in a Capitalist Society, E. E. Hale, The University of Texas.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 12:30 P.M.**History Luncheon Conference****Room No. 4 (Mezzanine)****Presiding Officer:** W. H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University.*An Inter-Departmental Experiment*, H. C. Nixon, Tulane University.**Discussion:** Herbert P. Gambrell, Southern Methodist University, and Ernest E. Leisy, Southern Methodist University.**FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 2:00 P.M.****Agricultural Economics Section****English Room (Mezzanine)****Chairman:** T. W. Leland, Texas A. and M. College.*Control Measures for Agricultural Prices**Voluntary Domestic Allotment Plan*, C. A. Wiley, The University of Texas.**Discussion:** J. T. Sanders, Oklahoma A. and M. College; Victor Schoffelmayer, Agricultural Editor, *Dallas News*.*Proposed Changes in the Monetary System as a Means of Raising Agricultural Prices*, C. O. Moser, President, National Coöperative Council, and Vice-President, American Cotton Coöperative Association.**Discussion:** Eugene Butler, Editor, *Progressive Farmer and Southern Ruralist*.**FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 2:00 P.M.****Business Administration Section South Room (Seventeenth Floor)****Chairman:** A. B. Cox, The University of Texas.*Administrative Problems During the Depression**Deflating Asset Values*, T. W. Leland, Texas A. and M. College.**Discussion:** W. B. Cole, University of Arkansas; L. H. Fleck, Southern Methodist University.*Executive Personnel Problems*, Pearce C. Kelley, University of Arkansas.**Discussion:** F. C. Petty, University of Oklahoma.*Advertising Policies with Particular Reference to Brands*, Wilford L. White, The University of Texas.**Discussion:** Karl D. Reyer, University of Oklahoma.**FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 2:00 P.M.****Economics Section****Room No. 4 (Mezzanine)****Chairman:** S. H. Moore, Southern Methodist University.*The Phenomenon of Profits*, F. B. Clark, Texas A. and M. College.**Discussion:** Vernon G. Sorrell, University of New Mexico.*The Operation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation in Oklahoma*, H. Grady Sloan, University of Oklahoma.**Discussion:** R. H. Montgomery, The University of Texas.*Some Farm Ownership and Tenancy Problems in Texas*, C. A. Wiley, The University of Texas.**Discussion:** C. O. Brannen, University of Arkansas.**FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 2:00 P.M.****Government Section****Room No. 1 (Mezzanine)****Chairman:** Miss Jessie Dell, Member of National Civil Service Commission, Washington, D.C.*Bureaucracy**The Concept of Bureaucracy*, Taylor Cole, University of Louisiana.

Round Table

Government by Bureaucracy, C. A. M. Ewing, University of Oklahoma.

Round Table

The Rise of an International Bureaucracy, S. D. Myres, Jr., Southern Methodist University.

Discussion: C. A. Timm, The University of Texas.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 2:00 P.M.

History Section

English Room Junior (Mezzanine)

Chairman: L. W. Newton, North Texas State Teachers College.

The Attitude of the Hispanic-American States Toward the Monroe Doctrine in Recent Times, T. H. Reynolds, Oklahoma A. and M. College.

Discussion: J. Lloyd Mecham, The University of Texas.

The Slavery Question and the Movement to Acquire All Mexico, 1846-1848, John D. P. Fuller, Texas A. and M. College.

Discussion: R. L. Bieseke, The University of Texas.

The Peace Movement in Georgia in the Spring of 1864, J. Horace Bass, The University of Texas.

Discussion: H. A. Trexler, Southern Methodist University.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 2:30 P.M.

Human Geography Section

Room No. 2 (Mezzanine)

General Meeting: Chairman, E. W. Schuler, Southern Methodist University.

The Training of Geographers, Frank Carney, Baylor University.

Discussion: C. J. Bollinger, University of Oklahoma.

The Prospects of the Textile Industry in Texas, James McDowell, Manager, The Bluebonnet Textile Mills, New Braunfels, Texas.

Prospects of Industrial Development in Texas, C. M. Hammond, Associate Editor, *The Texas Weekly*, Dallas, Texas.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 2:00 P.M.

Sociology Section

Room No. 3 (Mezzanine)

Chairman: H. L. Pritchett, Southern Methodist University.

Sociological Research in the Southwest

A Survey of Sociological Research in the Southwest, Jennings J. Rhyne, University of Oklahoma.

Open Discussion

The Ozark Mountaineer, Merle E. Frampton, College of the Ozarks, Clarksville, Arkansas.

Discussion: Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas.

A Comparative Study of Indian Student Leaders and Followers, Mapheus Smith, University of Kansas.

Discussion: J. L. Duflet, West Texas State Teachers College, Canyon, Texas.

A Study of Urbanization in Texas, Carl M. Rosenquist, The University of Texas, and Harry E. Moore, The University of Texas.

Discussion: W. P. Meroney, Baylor University.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 4:30 P.M.

General Conference Session

The Lounge

Presiding Officer: C. Perry Patterson, The University of Texas.

Address: *Whither the Southwest?* Peter Molyneaux, Editor, *The Texas Weekly*, Dallas, Texas.

FRIDAY, APRIL 14, 6:30 P.M.**General Conference Dinner****Room No. 1 (Mezzanine)**

Presiding Officer: Elmer Scott, Civic Federation of Dallas.

Address: *Social Trends and Social Leadership*, James Q. Dealey, President of the Association.**SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 9:00 A.M.****Agricultural Economics Section****English Room (Mezzanine)**

Chairman: B. M. Gile, University of Arkansas.

*Required Courses in Agricultural Economics in a Four-Year College Course in Agriculture.**General Aim and Purpose of Agricultural Economics in the Curriculum of Colleges of Agriculture*, V. P. Lee, Texas A. and M. College.

Discussion: J. O. Ellsworth, Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Texas.

Type of Economic Training Needed by Vocational Teachers, E. R. Alexander, Texas A. and M. College.

Discussion: W. E. Paulson, Texas A. and M. College.

SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 9:00 A.M.**Business Administration Section South Room (Seventeenth Floor)**

Chairman: Monroe S. Carroll, Baylor University.

*Business Aspects of Public Regulation**The Oil Industry*, R. L. Conrod, The University of Texas.

Discussion: E. A. Elliott, Texas Christian University.

Automotive Transportation, H. W. Blalock, University of Arkansas.

Discussion: R. H. Montgomery, The University of Texas.

Banking, with Particular Reference to the Glass Bill, James C. Dolley, The University of Texas.

Discussion: F. L. Ryan, University of Oklahoma.

SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 9:00 A.M.**Economics Section****Room No. 4 (Mezzanine)**

Chairman: Jack Johnson, North Texas State Teachers College.

The Challenge of the Economic Engineer, C. A. Duval, The University of Texas.

Discussion: Karl Ashburn, Texas Christian University.

An Appraisal of Technocracy, E. A. Elliott, Texas Christian University.

Discussion: Elmer Scott, Dallas, Texas.

SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 9:00 A.M.**Government Section****Room No. 1 (Mezzanine)**

Chairman: L. A. Woods, State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

*Civic Education**The Teaching of Civics in the High Schools of the Southwest*, W. A. Jackson, Texas Technological College.*The Teaching of Civics in the Colleges of the Southwest*, S. B. McAllister, Denton State Teachers College.*Civic Education and Citizenship*, O. Douglas Weeks, The University of Texas.

No discussion contemplated.

SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 9:00 A.M.

History Section

English Room Junior (Mezzanine)

Chairman: Raymond L. Welty, Texas Christian University.

The Opportunity of the Present Administration in Foreign Affairs,
Pierce Cline, Centenary College.

Discussion: Rupert N. Richardson, Simmons University.

Francis T. Nicholls, Governor of Louisiana, 1876-1880, G. W. McGinty,
Louisiana Polytechnic Institute.

Discussion: W. H. Stephenson, Louisiana State University.

Kassala: An Anglo-Italian Phase of the Egyptian Question, 1885-1897,
J. L. Glanville, Southern Methodist University.

Discussion: V. K. Sugareff, Texas A. and M. College.

SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 9:30 A.M.

Human Geography Section

Room No. 2 (Mezzanine)

Symposium: *Energy Resources and Industrial Development in the Southwest*.

Chairman, W. E. Wrather, Dallas, Texas.

The Necessity for Petroleum and Natural Gas Conservation, M. G.
Cheney, President, Anzac Oil Corporation, Coleman, Texas.

What the Future of the Oil Industry Means to Texas, M. J. Norrell, Mag-
nolia Petroleum Company, Dallas, Texas.

The Natural Gas Industry, L. B. Denning, President, Lone Star Gas
Company, Dallas, Texas.

Possible Utilization of Natural Gas, Elmer F. Schmidt, General Super-
intendent, Lone Star Gas Company, Dallas, Texas.

Discussion: Stuart McGregor, the *Dallas News*, and Peter Molyneaux,
The Texas Weekly, Dallas, Texas, and F. K. Rader, Southern Meth-
odist University, Dallas, Texas.

SATURDAY, APRIL 15, 9:00 A.M.

Sociology Section

Room No. 3 (Mezzanine)

Chairman: W. C. Smith, Texas Christian University.

Business Session

The Worker and His Publics, Walter T. Watson, Southern Methodist
University.

Discussion: W. T. Metzler, Northeastern Oklahoma State Teachers
College.

Some Factors in the Decline of Civilizations, L. L. Bernard, Washington
University, St. Louis, Mo.

Discussion: H. L. Pritchett, Southern Methodist University.

The Textbook in the Teaching of Sociology, Seba Eldridge, University
of Kansas.

Discussion: Wyatt Marrs, University of Oklahoma.

*The Effect of Social Isolation on the French-Speaking People of Rural
Louisiana*, H. W. Gilmore, Tulane University.

Discussion: Fred Frey, Louisiana State University.

An Analysis of Louisiana Trade Centers, T. Lynn Smith, Louisiana State
University.

Discussion: O. D. Duncan, Oklahoma A. and M. College.

SATURDAY NOON

The fourteenth annual business luncheon and meeting was attended by about forty-five members. President J. Q. Dealey presided at the business session. The usual order of business was followed, to-wit: Minutes of the Thirteenth Annual Business Meeting were read and were approved as read; the Secretary-Treasurer reported on membership and finances as follows:

REPORT ON MEMBERSHIP, MARCH 15, 1932, TO APRIL 1, 1933

| Classes of Membership | No. March 15, 1932 | Cancelled | Added | Net Loss | No. April 1, 1933 |
|-----------------------|--------------------|-----------|-------|----------|-------------------|
| Life (M. K. Graham) | 1 | — | — | — | 1 |
| Contributing | 3 | — | — | — | 3 |
| Sustaining | 2 | — | — | — | 2 |
| Active | 333 | 26 | 16 | 10 | 323 |
| | 339 | 26 | 16 | 10 | 329 |

FINANCIAL STATEMENT, MARCH 15, 1932, TO APRIL 1, 1933

RECEIPTS

| | | |
|------------------------------|----------|-----------|
| Membership: | | |
| Contributing | \$ 45.00 | |
| Sustaining | 10.00 | |
| Active | 831.90 | |
| Total | | \$ 886.90 |
| Sale of Publications | 47.25 | |
| Refund on Reprints | 56.00 | |
| Total | | 103.25 |
| Social Science Research Fund | | 572.70 |
| Refund on Convention Expense | | 12.75 |
| Total Receipts | | 1,575.60 |

EXPENSES

| | | |
|--|-----------|------------|
| Printing: | | |
| March (1932) Quarterly | \$ 224.10 | |
| June Quarterly | 237.50 | |
| Index to Vol. XII | 35.00 | |
| September Quarterly | 285.60 | |
| December Quarterly | 247.20 | |
| March (1933) Quarterly | 247.20 | |
| Total | 1,276.60 | |
| Reprints | 90.00 | |
| Programs, tickets, Thirteenth Convention | 17.00 | |
| Letterheads, bills, envelopes | 14.73 | |
| Total printing | | 1,398.33 |
| Clerical help | | 68.29 |
| Stenographic supplies and stamps | | 58.77 |
| Post Office deposit | | 10.00 |
| Convention expense | | 50.00 |
| Address labels | | 2.00 |
| Miscellaneous | | 7.25 |
| Total Expense | | \$1,594.64 |
| Deficit for current year | | 19.04 |
| Deficit for year ending March 15, 1932 | | 104.89 |
| DEFICIT, APRIL 1, 1933 | | \$ 123.93 |
| Cash on hand, April 1, 1933 | \$ 364.40 | |
| Press, amount unpaid | 498.33 | |
| Deficit | \$ 123.93 | |

Professor A. S. Lang, of Baylor University, and Dr. Edwin A. Elliott, of Texas Christian University, composed the Audit Committee and, after inspecting the accounts for the current year, reported that they were in proper condition, and that the financial statement as presented by the Secretary-Treasurer met with their approval.

Dr. C. Perry Patterson, Chairman of the Board of Editors of the Southwestern Social Science Quarterly, presented the following report:

COST DATA

SOUTHWESTERN SOCIAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY

(See financial report; cost data is for fiscal year.)

| | 1930-31 | 1931-32 | 1932-33 |
|-------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| Average per issue | \$360.20 | \$300.08 | \$255.32 |
| Average per page | 3.10 | 2.93 | 2.63 |

(Beginning with September, 1932, the Press made a price per page of \$2.40 per 500 copies.)

SIZE IN PAGES

| | 1930-31 | 1931-32 | 1932-33 |
|-------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| June | 116 | 102 | 94 |
| September | 96 | 94 | 116 |
| December | 122 | 83 | 98 |
| March | 130 | 80 | 96 |
| | <hr/> 464 | <hr/> 359 | <hr/> 404 |
| Average pages per issue | 116 | 89.9 | 101 |

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTICLES BY SUBJECT MATTER AND BY AUTHORSHIP

SOUTHWESTERN VS. ALL OTHERS

| Vol. No. | Subject Matter | | Authorship | |
|----------|----------------|------------|--------------|------------|
| | Southwestern | All Others | Southwestern | All Others |
| XI. 1 | 40 | 60 | 83.1 | 14.9 |
| 2 | 17.1 | 82.9 | 27.6 | 72.4 |
| 3 | 0 | 100 | 51.9 | 48.1 |
| 4 | 26.2 | 73.8 | 27.7 | 72.3 |
| XII. 1 | 32.9 | 67.1 | 68.7 | 31.3 |
| 2 | 0 | 100 | 34.7 | 65.3 |
| 3 | 18.1 | 81.9 | 78.7 | 21.3 |
| 4 | 75.9 | 24.1 | 61.3 | 38.7 |
| XIII. 1 | 100 | 0 | 100 | 0 |
| 2 | 50 | 50 | 66.7 | 33.3 |
| 3 | 83.3 | 16.7 | 80 | 20 |
| 4 | 50 | 50 | 66.7 | 33.3 |

DISTRIBUTION OF ARTICLES BY FIELDS

| | 1930-31 | 1931-32 | 1932-33 |
|-------------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| Agricultural Economics | 4 | 2 | 3 |
| Business Administration | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| Economics | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Government | 11 | 9 | 10 |
| History | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| Sociology | 2 | 3 | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 2 | 0 | 2 |

The committee on nominations, composed of Professor D. Y. Thomas, Chairman; Professor O. D. Duncan, and Professor V. P. Lee, proposed the following officers for the Association for the coming year, Professor Thomas making the report:

President: Dr. C. Perry Patterson, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

First Vice-President: Professor H. C. Nixon, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana.

Second Vice-President: Professor W. F. Hauhart, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Texas.

Third Vice-President: J. T. Sanders, Washington, D.C.

Elected Members of the Executive Council: Professor W. A. Jackson, Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Texas; Professor A. B. Adams, The University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma.

This report was accepted intact by those present and President Dealey declared the foregoing nominees duly elected.

The committee on resolutions, composed of Professor A. B. Adams, The University of Oklahoma, Norman, Oklahoma; Professor J. W. Pender, Sr., North Texas State Teachers College, Denton, Texas; and Professor W. A. Jackson, Texas Technological College, Lubbock, Texas, presented the following report:

The thanks of the Association as a whole are due and are hereby tendered to the various committees on local arrangements for the systematic and orderly plans for handling the different sections of the Association; to the section chairman for the excellent, interesting, and instructive programs arranged; to the speakers who evidenced time and thought in the preparation of their address; to the management of the Baker Hotel for the many courtesies extended; and to the press for their generous reports of the proceedings of the Association.

With reference to the suggestion of President Dealey regarding a regional plan of development, the committee feels that such an undertaking is in the line of genuine progress, and recommends that a committee of five be appointed, of which the retiring President shall be chairman, to investigate the feasibility of such a program being undertaken by this Association, and to report its findings at the next annual meeting of the Association.

It was moved, seconded, and carried that the suggestion of President Dealey regarding a regional plan of development be undertaken.

The report was then accepted as read.

President J. Q. Dealey then declared the Fourteenth Business Meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association adjourned. After the business meeting adjourned the Executive Council met to consider certain important matters with regard to the policy of the Association and of the Quarterly. The Council elected the following officers: Board of Editors, C. Perry Patterson, R. H. Montgomery, Everett G. Smith; Advisory Board of Editors: V. P. Lee, C. A. Wiley, Agricultural Economics; J. B. Trant, Vernon G. Sorrell, Business Administration; Floyd Vaughan, E. A. Elliott, Economics; C. L. Benson, C. W. Pipkin, Government; R. L. Richardson, W. C. Holden, History; W. P. Meroney, W. E. Gettys, Sociology.

Program Committee: F. A. Buechel, Chairman, and Agricultural Economics Section; W. F. Hauhart, Business Administration Section; A. S. Lang, Economics Section; S. B. McAlister, Government Section; H. A. Trexler, History Section; Frank Carney, Human Geography Section; Mapheus Smith, Sociology.

J. L. Mecham was again chosen Secretary-Treasurer to serve the coming year.

BOOK REVIEWS

EDITED BY O. DOUGLAS WEEKS

The University of Texas

Hough, Eleanor M., *The Coöperative Movement in India*. (London: P. S. King and Co., Ltd., 1932, pp. xix + 340.)

The keen and extensive interest in the recent experiments of India with economic coöperation is attested to by the voluminous literature which has appeared the last few years. Naturally almost everything that has been written on the subject comes from Indians or English officials. One is therefore a little surprised to discover that the excellent little volume under review is the contribution of an American student. It is a doctrinal dissertation submitted to George Washington University by Miss Eleanor M. Hough. It has an entertaining introduction by Sir Horace Plunkett and a pithy foreword by Professor Hiralal L. Haji of Sydenham College of Commerce and Economics, University of Bombay, both of whom have been intimately associated with Indian coöperative developments.

Seven closely packed pages of bibliography and about a thousand references bear witness to the scholarship of the author. The official central and provincial reports on various aspects of coöperation constitute Miss Hough's chief sources, although secondary works were by no means neglected. To make her study still more authoritative, Miss Hough spent some time in India, examining first-hand several typical coöperative societies in typical communities and interviewing coöperative workers, government officials, business men, artisans and peasants wherever she went.

Her book is unquestionably the best all-round general account of the movement. It is a complete and well-balanced presentation. An introductory chapter describes the geographic, economic, social and political background and explains the chief factors which hamper and retard the establishment of a sound economy in India. She emphasizes especially overpopulation, the dependence of 70 per cent of the population on a single occupation (agriculture), antiquated agricultural methods, a low standard of living, inadequate transportation facilities, a defective system of distribution, extensive illiteracy, widespread indebtedness and the prevalence of usury. Her exclusively economic interpretation of the caste system (p. 6) can be accepted only with reservations. Her conclusions undoubtedly would have been different had she consulted the works of Risley, Ibbetson, Senart, Hunter, and others. So also, the selection of the year 1761 to mark the end of the Mogul Empire (p. 27) may readily be challenged.

In all controversial questions, Miss Hough is more than fair to the British; yet every now and then she finds herself compelled to criticize, although mildly, some governmental practice, policy, or attitude. So, after contrasting the per capita education expenditure of India with that of England she remarks (p. 8) that "the inadequate provision for primary education in British India must be set down as an outstanding administrative failure." So also, in her discussion of the economic background of her special problem, she repeats (p. 10) with apparent approval the traditional native criticism that "the drain upon the country's riches has more than offset the increased value of property which has followed in the wake of railways, irrigation

projects and other British developments." Again (p. 24), she maintains that "whatever may be Great Britain's present attitude there can be no doubt that her economic policy in the past has been directed towards discouraging native industries and especially the textile, in which India was once preëminent." Finally (p. 28) in her presentation of the political background she points out that "several of the Indian states give evidence of a more enlightened policy than British India proper, with their higher percentage of literacy and more advanced social legislation."

Miss Hough defines coöperation as "voluntary association in a joint undertaking for mutual benefit" and agrees with Mr. V. S. Bhide of Bombay that it constitutes a happy mean between extreme individualism and socialism or communism. Although the present day coöperative movement originated with the government, it ties on to India's past and is in harmony with Indian tradition and attitude. Nevertheless its dependence upon official support, supervision, and direction is a distinct liability and the exclusiveness of the coöperative societies indicates that the movement has not as yet passed "the ultimate test of genuine coöperation." The movement must therefore still be looked upon as essentially in the experimental stage.

The author traces its growth to 1930 and asserts that it is still predominantly a credit movement for the benefit of the rural population. The Raiffeisen societies of Germany were used as models especially as to "joint and unlimited liability, the restricted area, the gratuitous service on the managing committee, allocation of profits to an indivisible reserve, limitation of loans to members, and reliance on personal rather than real credit."

The several types of coöperative credit societies, the coöperative marketing, purchasing and industrial societies, the societies for consolidation of land holdings, for promotion of emigration, and for land reclamation, the labor contract, housing, insurance and better-living societies are all discussed in detail. Miss Hough believes that the movement has shown satisfactory progress in all of India excepting Burma, Bhopal, the United Provinces and the Central Provinces. There are, however, many defects which must be removed before success can be achieved. She lists, particularly, the lack of spontaneity, the emphasis upon officialdom, inadequate provision for long term credit, slow repayment of loans, paper adjustments, inadequacy of the finance available to members, delays in granting loans, illiteracy of members and failure to serve the neediest strata.

In spite of its weaknesses, Miss Hough believes that it has achieved much for the welfare of the people. It has helped to relieve poverty by reducing members' indebtedness, lowering interest rates, consolidating holdings, increasing productiveness and thrift; lowering the cost of necessities, providing markets, and discouraging unnecessary social expenditures; it has raised the standard of living; it has reduced illiteracy and it has increased banking facilities. She is convinced that it is "destined beyond a doubt to become one of the chief constructive forces working for the economic and social regeneration of India and the establishment of a sound national economy."

The Coöperative Societies Act of 1912 is reproduced in full in Appendix A and a list of statistical tables illustrating various features of the Indian coöperative movement in Appendix B. There is also a glossary of Indian terms, a comprehensive bibliography and a workable index. Unfortunately, Miss Hough has segregated her notes and references to authorities in one section at the end of the book. This not only causes a great deal of incon-

venience to the reader, but to a considerable extent destroys the value of the list. The style of the author is somewhat dull and monotonous, probably due to the character of her subject. There is also a good deal of repetition. Although the book will have little popular appeal, it deserves a place in the library of every serious student of Indian history and economics.

MILTON R. GUTSCH.

The University of Texas.

Carlton, Frank Tracy, *Labor Problems*. (New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1933, pp. viii, 458.)

That a book should be read with the author's purpose in mind, is a rule recognized by all fair-minded readers. In Carlton's *Labor Problems*, "The aim is not to condemn the practices and ideals of organized labor, of shop committees, or of employers and employers' associations; it is to analyze the phenomena of which the practices and ideals are the visible manifestation." In other words, Mr. Carlton proposes an unbiased analysis of the problems arising out of the conflict between labor and capital. He has attained this end to a praiseworthy degree. Although he occasionally passes moral judgment, as when he speaks of the characteristics of a "good" labor union, he apparently subjects both parties in the conflict to the scrutiny of the same moral code.

In some respects the analyses are less profound than the reader might wish. Thus he discusses optimistically the simultaneous rise of wages and lowering of labor costs, as exemplified in the Ford motor plants, without mentioning technological unemployment the inevitable accompaniment of such a situation. He occasionally makes sweeping statements of doubtful validity. "It may therefore safely be asserted that the prime factors in a study of labor organizations are not: Is the union a trade or an industrial union; or is its purposes bargaining or bringing about a social revolution?" But these limitations arise largely from the magnitude of the task attempted by the author. A comprehensive study of the entire field of labor problems is beyond the powers of a single man within the limits of a brief volume.

As if the magnitude of his problem was not enough, he goes beyond the strict limits of his field. The 26 chapters of this book might be grouped under four main heads, without violence to its subject matter. Chapters 2 to 7 deal with the historical background of the labor movement; chapters 10, 12, 19, 20, 21, 22, and 24 treat of industrial conflict, unemployment, women in industry, immigration and other aspects commonly referred to as labor problems. Chapters 1, 16, 17, 18, 25, and 26 consider present and future trends in industrial organization. The remainder of the book is devoted principally to a consideration of current industrial organization and practices. Parts of this portion of the book read like a business administration text or the advice of a paternalistic entrepreneur to a son recently embarked in industry.

The chapters on "Industrial Peace" and on "Labor Legislation" are especially comprehensive. On the other hand, in the chapter on "Coercive Methods" he states, "In *one* strike (*italics ours*), the strikers are reported to have asserted, correctly or incorrectly, that troops had been used to break down their organization." Those familiar with the American Class Struggle as fought in the coal mines of the Appalachians and the Colorado Rockies

and in the textile mills from Massachusetts to the Carolinas, may be slightly perplexed by this misleading statement. We would hasten to add, however, that such lapses are not characteristic of our author, who admits in another connection, "It must not be forgotten, however, that employers are often as brutal as the union 'sluggers', but in less conspicuous and more impersonal manner."

As indicated above, Mr. Carlton indulges in the delightful but dangerous pastime of projecting present trends into the future. Nowhere else does the basic philosophy of an individual find clearer expression. Mr. Carlton is an optimist. In the first paragraph of the book he strikes the joyous keynote. "History is in reality a story of the struggle of the masses upward;". The current economic depression is referred to in the past tense (writing in October, 1932). "Human Engineering" is expected to cure all our economic ills and shove industrial conflict off the stage. Human engineering involves a shift in management and motivation of production, but in the opinion of the author, no radical change in our economic and political set-up. "The preserve the *status quo* is impossible," however, Mr. Carlton is not in favor of radical measures. "In this book, solutions of the problems of unemployment will be sought within the limits of the capitalistic order."

Returning to the less dubious merits of the book, one should mention the pleasing style reinforced with many clever and well chosen quotations. As the central text for a course in labor problems this book has much merit. An advanced student, however, would wish to draw rather heavily on its most excellent bibliography.

SAM B. BARTON.

The University of Texas.

Fleming, Denna Frank, *The United States and the League of Nations, 1918-1920*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1932, pp. ix, 559.)

Here is an exhaustive study of the bitter fight in the United States, and especially in the Senate, over the League of Nations. The author, while clearly pro-League and pro-Wilson, has examined all relevant material and has courageously and frankly drawn a picture of the forces and the groups having a part in that historic struggle. First he traces briefly the rise of the League idea and gives full attention to the strongly favorable positions taken before 1918 by politicians, such as Lodge and Roosevelt, who later executed a *volte face* and fought the League to the bitter end. Then he skillfully shows that the enemies of Wilson planned a clever campaign wherein delay and constant emphasis upon legal questions would serve to give anti-Wilson leaders time to arouse the prejudices of the masses of the people. That having been accomplished, we are carried once more to the final scenes in the Senate and even to the "solemn referendum."

It is a picture drawn with the strokes of a master who is not only a master of technique but also a master imbued by the zeal of the defender of a righteous cause. He has some patience with honest irreconcilables such as Borah, but he finds it next to impossible to refrain from attaching the cloven hoof to men like Lodge, who continued the pretense of friendship for the League idea, but who thereby gave evidence of either hypocrisy or ignorance. On the other hand, he ably defends Wilson against the charge of stubbornness by giving evidence that the presence of senators on the American delegation would have had the purpose not of saving the treaty but of under-

mining Wilson in Europe. Nor does he believe that Wilson's enemies could taunt him with making compromises in Paris when it was constant pressure of those enemies for amendments that compelled the compromises. Furthermore, he believes that many criticisms leveled against the treaty were actuated by insincere motives. For example, Lodge shed crocodile tears of sympathy for China over the rape of Shantung, but the whole record of Lodge in the Senate breathes the spirit of a crass imperialist. In short, the author uses the whole story as a strong argument against the overweening power of the Senate in foreign affairs, a study that he had previously made in his *Treaty Vote of the American Senate*. It is no flattering picture he draws of the common, garden variety of politician, only too well represented in the Senate. The senatorial discussion of the Treaty of Versailles clearly marked a new low in the annals of the upper house.

Does the history of the world since 1920 tend to condemn the Senate? No one can answer definitely, but most of the factors indicate a reply in the affirmative. Nor is it any justification of the Senate to aver that the Covenant was in advance of American public opinion. Clearly public opinion did veer from the idealism inherent in the League. But why did it? The anti-Wilson senators and their lieutenants outside the Senate carried on a long, well-financed campaign of villification, misrepresentation, and unwarranted exaggeration and were finally to some degree successful. Whereupon they solemnly argued that public opinion had turned against the League. Such flimsily-screened hypocrisy is of the same cloth as the argument of the same noble statesmen that the League was both too weak and too strong to warrant our entering it.

During the past 12 years practically every main argument against the League has been proved groundless and even ridiculous. Furthermore, there is much to be said for the thesis that our abstention is the major tragedy of the post-war period, both for ourselves and for the world at large. Imponderables enter in here, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the debate upon and final defeat of the treaty presented a spectacle characterized by pettiness, provincialism, sordid political trickery, narrow, bigoted nationalism, and a deplorable, tragic inability or unwillingness to take a long view of our interest in the better international organization of the states of the world.

CHARLES A. TIMM.

The University of Texas.

Dangerfield, Royden J., *In Defense of the Senate: A Study in Treaty Making*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1933, pp. xviii, 365.)

John Hay's contention that "there will always be 34 per cent of the Senate on the blackguard side of every question" has been reëchoed by the numerous critics of that august body in its treaty-making rôle. That the Senate has been obstructionist, that it indulges in undue delay in the ratification of treaties, and that it manifests a mania for the mutilation of treaties by way of reservations and amendments, have been accepted almost as truisms. Dr. Dangerfield seeks, in a thoroughly impartial manner by statistical study of Senate action on treaties, to throw light upon the amount and causes of delay, rejection, and modification of treaties. He finds that, of the 786 treaties which came before the Senate during the period 1789 to 1928, it declined to approve 62, leaving 725 which it approved in some manner or other. One hundred and four treaties approved by the Senate, with or with-

out amendments, were never proclaimed, leaving 621 which were later proclaimed. Twenty-three per cent were approved by the Senate in 10 days or less. One-half were approved in 28 days or less. Only 40 treaties, 6 per cent, required more than one year to secure action of the Senate. The average is 108 days, and 80 per cent of all treaties fall below the average. This average would be considerably reduced were it not for the abnormal case of the Isle of Pines Treaty, which was delayed over 21 years. When compared with ordinary legislation, there does not appear to be Senatorial procrastination in approving treaties.

Is it true that, as John Hay said, a treaty sent to the Senate was foredoomed to either death or mutilation? As noted above, the Senate has declined to approve only 62 treaties. As for its "mania" to amend treaties, Dr. Dangerfield's statistical study leads to the conclusion that there is no definite tendency in that direction. Since the time of John Hay and his unfortunate experiences with the Upper House, the percentage of treaties amended by the Senate has declined from about 40 per cent to only slightly more than 10 per cent. Statistics seem to prove that the personalities of the President and his Secretary of State have a vital bearing on the fate of their treaties in the Senate.

Since the two-thirds rule has been the special object of attack by critics of the Senate, Dr. Dangerfield takes note of its operation. He finds that most of the treaties rejected or amended by the Senate would have been rejected or amended under a majority rule. Perhaps the bitter indictment of the rule arises from the fact that it was responsible for the defeat of a few very important treaties, notably the Treaty of Versailles. Dr. Dangerfield, quite sensibly, does not subscribe to the demands for simple majority in the Senate or Congressional approval of treaties. He proposes instead better understanding and greater tolerance between the White House and the Capitol.

This is a scholarly study which should be valuable to all students of American government. The numerous tables and graphs are informative, particularly the comprehensive table of treaties negotiated by the United States, 1788-1928. The University of Oklahoma Press is also to be commended because of the artistry of its product.

J. LLOYD MECHAM.

The University of Texas.

Callahan, James Morton, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, pp. vii, 644.)

Professor Callahan's presentation of the history of American relations with Mexico tells the story from a point of view solely that of official United States. The study, nevertheless, has certain features that make it a valuable contribution to the field. The merest glance at the bibliography appended to each chapter bespeaks the vast amount of research based upon most of the fundamental sources in the United States: Mexican despatches, instructions, senate and house, presidential and foreign relations materials. Examination of the text reveals a meticulous summary of these official papers frequently attended by the reproduction of contemporary outlooks and prejudices. On the other hand, there are practically no references to the basic published collections of Mexican sources or to archival materials corresponding to those utilized for the United States side of the story.

Throughout the entire work, Dr. Callahan reveals a highly critical attitude toward the Mexicans. Indeed the approach to the history of the early relations is that of a lusty Manifest Destiny character. For example, Dr. Callahan exhibits impatience and a lack of appreciation to the Mexicans who were suspicious of the United States government in the period before 1846, yet he faithfully produces the evidence that every minister from Poinsett to Green was openly desirous of annexing some part of Mexican territory. A further difficulty that hampers a well-rounded presentation is the absence of any adequate indication of the internal factors in Mexican history that operated upon the international field. The following statement of Mexican conditions in 1913, for instance, hardly suffices to base a discussion of our relations with that country in the series of exceedingly grave crises that arose during the next ten years:

"In the Mexican situation of confusion and disorder and insecurity resulting from the struggle of rival factions, the Wilson administration encountered a task far more difficult than it suspected."
Page 534.

One wonders why the Mexicans were so disturbed; one feels that an exposition of the fundamental historical factors operating there in those years would throw light upon Mexican action in her relations with the United States. There was a relation between United States dollars invested during the time of Diaz and the Mexican nationalization of the land program after 1911. But in spite of the excellence of his survey of American economic activities during the Diaz regime and his equally thorough summaries of the correspondence that emanated from the state department during Wilson's administration, there is no tying together of the actions of public men and the social, political, and economic forces which were the springs of the Mexican actions.

Viewed as a whole one is forced to the conclusion that the volume's chief contribution is that it presents a vast amount of factual material, much of it new, provides a useful guide to and valuable summaries of the significant despatches, instructions, and proceedings of the official actions of the representatives of the United States government in our relations with Mexico. As such the volume is indispensable to students of the subject. Its lack of critical handling of this material, however, arising from neglect of Mexican sources, evident bias that proceeds from the faithful adherence to the official reports, prevents the volume, in the opinion of the reviewer, from being as, Professor Callahan states that it is, "a historical review of American foreign policy in Mexican relations."

ALFRED B. THOMAS.

University of Oklahoma.

Vance, Rupert B., *Human Geography of the South*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1932, pp. xiv, 579.)

This book is an excellent picture of that portion of the United States commonly recognized as the South, as it has been, is, and may be. But the question immediately arises as to whether it is a study in human geography or a social and economic survey of a geographically defined portion of the earth's surface.

If the reader approaches it in expectation of a treatise along the lines of the Semple or Huntington tradition, he will be greatly disappointed. For

here such things as the pioneer tradition, the cultural tradition developed in the South by the plantation era as it has been romanticized by the Southerners, the social and economic effects of the invasion of the cotton patches by cotton and rayon mills, and the establishment of cigarette factories based on mechanical means of rolling this product, find ample statement and interpretation. In the background, very faintly much of the time, are such factors as climate, soil, topography, and other purely geographic factors. But they are thickly overlaid with considerations of such subjects as transportation, diet, economics, population movements, culture complexes, industrialism, and other factors which can hardly be said to spring directly from the soil.

The book inevitably raises the question as to how far the geographer, human or physical, is justified in going into social, economic, and political questions. Certainly we all live and enact our little parts on or very near the surface of the earth; and are somewhat controlled by what we find there. But the whole story of civilization is the story of our unceasing efforts to escape from the control of geography. We have not, and can not, wholly escape the limitations thus set about us. But we have pushed back those limits farther and farther with every physical and social invention and process we have developed. The result today, it seems to the reviewer, is that the economic, social, and political conditions in Europe, or Asia, are of far more importance to the cotton grower of the Texas black land belt than any factors of soil or rainfall, or even man-made transportation, with which he is likely to come into conflict. Of course, the human geographer would immediately answer that he is interested in only one portion of the question, and is not attempting to give a theory which will explain all social behavior in terms of geographic influences—at least this author would. But the question of the definition of the field of human geography is yet to be solved, perhaps yet to be stated. Certainly this author has gone far beyond Bruhnes' six geographic factors even though he is still far from the Huntington or Semple faith in the efficacy of geography.

The book is amply documented and has an abundance of maps and charts which add to clear and readable style in which it is presented.

HARRY E. MOORE.

The University of Texas.

Anderson, W. A., *Population Trends in New York State, 1900 to 1930*, Cornell University Agric. Exper. Sta. Bul. 547, Dec., 1932, pp. 60.

Gee, Wilson, *The Qualitative Nature of Rural Depopulation in Santuc Township, South Carolina, 1900 to 1930*, South Carolina Agric. Exper. Sta. Bul. 287, January, 1933, pp. 22.

Zimmerman, Carle C., *Ernst Engel's Law of Expenditures for Food*, Quart. Jour. Econ. Vol. XLVII, Nov., 1932, pp. 78-101.

Anderson's bulletin points out the changes that have occurred between 1900 and 1930 in the number and proportions of the classes of the New York population living in the minor civil divisions of the state giving special attention to changes going on in rural regions. His definitions and data are taken from the United States Census. The principal defect of this study is one that inheres in all census studies, the terms "rural" and "urban" are somewhat vague and unsatisfactory for precise comparisons, at least so

far as the farm population is concerned. The census concept of a rural community is one of size only, and it does not distinguish between small suburbs of large cities and villages of similar size that are remote from cities, however different from each other such communities may be. The chief value of the study is that it digests the census materials into a compact and handy form.

Gee's study relates to the depopulation of the upper, middle, and lower classes of the population in Santuc Township. His definition of class is based mostly upon size, land holdings, and is therefore inadequate as a measure of the quality of a population. The feudal idea that ownership of land in itself meant a superior quality of people is untenable in modern times when wealth and social position are often independent and even divorced from land ownership. This definition would imply that if all people owned equal amounts of land, social differentiation would disappear. A second weakness of the study is that the changes in the number of people in each class have been discovered by comparing the distribution of population in 1900 with that of 1930, with little reference to the data of intervening census years. This assumes that the differences observed are the results of uniform continuous processes for a period of 30 years. The principal merit in the approach is that the area selected is sufficiently small to admit of a complete enumeration, and for the most part it was possible to find in 1930 the descendants of the people who were residing in that section in 1900, as well as many who still survive. This gives the study a degree of intimacy that would not be possible if a whole county or even several counties had been studied.

Zimmerman attempts to show that outside of Germany Engel's Law has seldom been understood. He also explains that as Engel intended, the law was supposed to apply to food, and at most to physical wants, rather than to all kinds of wants. Furthermore, he says the law is operative and valid only within certain limits. Engel's principle that "The poorer a family becomes the greater is the proportion of its income that is spent for food" suggests that the amount that goes to food might reach 100 per cent for families with small incomes and zero for those with very large incomes. For practical purposes, the law does not intend to convey any such meaning, although it might be logically inferred. This rather meticulous and academic discussion tends to confirm much existing doubt as to the advisability of making wholesale applications of Engel's laws in standards of living studies of all sorts.

O. D. DUNCAN.

Oklahoma A. and M. College.

White, Leonard D., *Further Contributions to the Prestige Value of Public Employment*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932, pp. xvii, 88.)

In 1929 there appeared from the pen of Professor White a volume called *The Prestige Value of Public Employment*. Innocent enough in its title and external appearance, the book nevertheless gave rise to more than a little excitement, particularly in academic circles, for in its pages the author sought to blaze a trail over a terrain previously unexplored. Hypothesizing a significant relationship between the morale of government employees and the esteem in which public employment is held popularly, he created a number of

objective criteria for the measurement of the prestige value of public office; and with his scale he fared forth to ascertain the attitude of the citizenry of Chicago toward the local public service. With the results of this study we are not here concerned: suffice it to say that a sizeable sample of Chicago's population were found to have a poor opinion of the city's servants and a marked preference for private over public employment on a number of significant points.

The present volume finds the author extending his investigations into a much broader field, though with a method and a purpose which stamps the study as a lineal descendant of the original experiment. The schedules of the first investigation were revised somewhat and presented to more than 7,000 persons in eleven cities in ten different states. From the data thus collected the author continued his studies of the relative prestige of public and private employment, and of the influence of such factors as sex, age, education, occupation, and race on the citizen's regard for government service. Moreover, the inquiries extended to state and federal as well as to municipal services, and in this respect the second study differs from the first, which was limited to Chicago. In general, the present investigation bears out satisfactorily the findings of the earlier experiment, contributing on its own account the conclusion that municipal employment rates lowest in the esteem of the citizen, with state service somewhat higher and the federal service much higher yet. Not least significant among the chapters of the book is the final one, in which the author sets forth his observations on "The Nature and Uses of Prestige."

It is not to be expected that this volume will escape unscathed at the hands of the critics. On the contrary, many will arise to question not only the author's conclusions but his method as well, for while the earlier study some years ago set a precedent for the technique employed, it must be conceded regretfully that little has been done by other investigators with our author's suggestions. Professor White therefore may be said to be a pioneer in both subject matter and method in this particular academic jungle, and as such he must have reconciled himself long since to the sometimes unenviable lot of the adventurous. Happily, however, he stands much less in need of defenders than does his technique of emulators, for his studies point the way, in respect both of subject matter and of procedure, to a most challenging field of investigation.

ROSCOE C. MARTIN.

The University of Texas.

Robbins, E. C., and Folts, F. E., *Introduction to Industrial Management, Text, Cases and Problems*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1933, pp. xi, 356.)

The outstanding feature of this book is its method. Grouped into three parts (Economics of Production, Factors of Production, Control of the Production Process) are seventeen chapters, each treating a broad problem of industrial management, such as "Standardization," or "Wage Incentives," or "Quality Control." Each chapter is introduced by a short statement of a practical business case; the philosophy, the causes and effects of the problem are then presented in the light of the practical case, after which the authors emphasize in "Summary and Conclusions" the importance of certain steps, or evaluate the decisions reached by the company in the solution of the prob-

lem. To each chapter two problems, involving practical cases, are appended without comment beyond the concrete formulation of the question at issue.

It is evident that with such a method, and in a book of 350 pages, the technical details of factory management cannot be treated in detail. In the reviewer's opinion this is one of the major reasons why the book should be eminently suited to a general survey course such as should be found in every school of business administration. It will give students lacking an engineering background the necessary appreciation of the problems confronting the production executives; it avoids burdening them with a lot of technical detail for which they hardly will have any use and which they are, due to their purely commercial training, really unfit to use.

On the other hand, the method makes the book most interesting to read, because each chapter is the story of a business incident. Furthermore, there are included a first chapter on "Development of Industrial Management in the United States" and a concluding chapter, "Future of Industrial Control," which place the entire complex of industrial management problems in the general economic background. Incidentally, the general economic and social implications of scientific industrial management are brought out throughout the book. These features suggest that the book might make pleasant and profitable reading even in departments of economics. In these circles scientific management has sometimes been assumed to be a clever kind of labor exploitation. Perhaps the technical character of management literature offers an excuse for this, but it is submitted that after the publication of Robbins' and Folts' book the excuse no longer exists.

R. GROSSMAN.

The University of Texas.

Driver, Carl S., *John Sevier, Pioneer of the Old Southwest*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1932, pp. 217.)

This book is an excellent example of the efforts of present day historians to reexamine the sources of early American history and to bring about a better understanding and appreciation of the leadership which established the commonwealths of the interior.

As Governor of the State of Franklin—the first effort at expansion west of the Alleghanies—John Sevier is presented as the representative of the independent and courageous separatists who dared to break away from the mother colony and face alone the savage Indian in the path of civilization.

Admiration for and confidence in this brilliant and versatile leader of French-English descent were shown by his fellow citizens in his election for six terms as Governor of Tennessee. The author has shown us how that Sevier, in contrast with Andrew Jackson, was always a state enthusiast and never a nationalist even while serving in Congress. Political fights and near personal encounters with the latter constitute the melodrama of the book. Some wrong impressions have been corrected and a frank discussion of campaign charges during the bitter Governor's race of 1803 are presented in an interesting chapter.

The author has painted Sevier as an ardent expansionist where his own state's interests were involved. He seemed completely obsessed by the idea of acquiring land as a foundation for wealth in those early days. His land speculations have received prominence in the biography and the accounts of his connections with land companies formed to exploit Indian territory con-

stitute the chief contribution of the author. Sevier distrusted the savages and did not hesitate to attack them for economic reasons as well as for purposes of defense. Later, he opposed bloodshed when he saw that the pressure of immigration over the mountains might accomplish the desired result of transferring the lands from the possession of an irresponsible and roving people who refused to develop them to the ownership of settlers who desired to establish permanent homes. In other words, the writer has painted his hero as a relentless fighter whether armed with guns or diplomacy. This double talent was exemplified by him in thirty-five battles, among them King's Mountain, and in Indian treaties and legislative measures.

The book is valuable from a genealogical standpoint. Many dates are given and descendants of the Sevier family as well as all Tennesseans should be interested in owning copies of this well-written biography. The work is rich in references to many pioneers and their careers. The bibliography alone is invaluable.

TOMMIE COCHRAN PATTERSON.

Austin, Texas.

Cohen, Percy, *Social Insurance*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 278.)

The experience of Great Britain in the field of social insurance has never been thoroughly understood in the United States. Americans have vaguely known that Great Britain used the dole system. We condemned it on principle. It appeared anathema to the doctrine of "rugged individualism" and was, therefore, not a promising social instrument for us. American social reform, if such really exists, features a mendacity unrivalled in any large industrial state.

This interesting little book by Percy Cohen should become a popular one for American social reformers. In reality, it is a handbook on social insurance as it exists in Great Britain. Different chapters, supremely desiccated, are given over to outlines of health insurance, widows', orphans', and old-age contributory pensions, non-contributory old-age pensions, unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation and industrial insurance systems. In very succinct manner, the statutory limitations and the decisions of courts and umpires are presented. The brevity is, of course, necessary if the treatment is to remain constricted to the compass of a single volume. This work should be read in conjunction with Gilbert Slater's *Poverty and the State*.

In regard to the insolvency of the unemployment insurance system, the Labor party has received more than its just share of criticism. However, it should be noted, the Baldwin Governments did much to increase the ultimate benefits to unemployed workers. The system broke down under the strain of unprecedented unemployment following the debacle of 1929. Before the state finally retreated from its position, the service came to cost the Exchequer no less than a half-billion dollars a year. In typical British fashion, the political leaders, with few exceptions, admitted that the burden was too strenuous and an easement was effected.

Percy Cohen has done a useful and creditable piece of work, but there remains a more important and a more interesting book to be written on the influence of British social insurance in deterring and dissipating strong left-wingism in that country, and especially for the period since 1924. Why

have the Communist agitators been more or less silenced since that time, or are they working underground; or has the social insurance system furnished a sufficient security for workers to restrain them from accepting revolutionary doctrines in the full cloth?

CORTEZ A. M. EWING.

The University of Oklahoma.

Freeman, Joseph, *The Soviet Worker*. (New York: Liveright, 1932, pp. vii, 408.)

Information upon Russia and its socialized experiments are now becoming more reliable. The venomous tirade of the emigrés and of those who interpreted the Soviet régime as an immediate threat to capitalism as an economic system is becoming frayed and of little popularity. On the other hand, the Russian officials have lost much of their evangelical credo. State capitalism and individual capitalism may yet be able to exist in the same family of nations, even though the supporters of the two systems may find it difficult to regard the other system as other than one of sheer intellectual mendacity.

In this volume, the author has sought to describe the conditions under which the Russian worker functions, including especially the labor code, the enforcement of the labor laws, the real and socialized wages, housing, education, and general cultural advantages. He is openly a supporter of the Soviet system. The statistics which he quotes are from Soviet sources, but there is little doubt of their accuracy, since they are verified generally by foreigners in Russia.

The author cleverly contrasts the position of the present day Russian worker with that of his Czarist father. There remains no doubt that Russia is rapidly becoming a land for workers. Even more than the laborer of the United States, the Russian worker feels himself an integral and important part of the whole economic system. In fact, as with most dictatorships, the trade unions have been invaded by followers of the ruling party, with the result that they have become strong factors in the success of the reforms. At some future time, this feeling of proprietorship may become a nightmare to the *intelligentsia*. The protection against this development apparently lies in the universal compulsory educational system.

In many ways, Freeman's book is the best by an American author upon Russia. It is more interestingly written than Hoover's work.

CORTEZ A. M. EWING.

University of Oklahoma.

Spahr, Walter E., *The Federal Reserve System and the Control of Credit*. (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1931, pp. xviii, 138.)

Dr. Spahr believes that it is desirable to stabilize the price level and he thinks most well-informed persons hold to that belief. There are, however, competent students who distinguish between price level changes which have their origin on the side of money and credit and changes which are due to circumstances on the side of goods, such as, for example, technological improvements, and the position is taken that general price changes of the latter kind should not be prevented.

There is a department store variety of proposals for attaining a more stable level of prices than has hitherto prevailed. Bimetallism, a managed

currency, the compensated dollar, and central bank credit control are the more important rival proposals. Dr. Spahr comments briefly on some of these, but confines himself in elaboration to central bank policies. He emphasizes the probability of a conflict between stability of the price level as a sole objective and the safety of the banking system. He believes that the present structure and powers of the Federal reserve system are inadequate to the control of credit.

The book is brief, readable, informing to the general reader, and, in view of the present popular interest in the money and banking questions, it is very timely.

E. T. MILLER.

The University of Texas.

BOOK NOTES

The third edition of the *Federal and State Tax Systems* (Chicago: Commerce Clearing House, Inc., 1932, pp. 145) is now off the press and it, by and large, represents an excellent and satisfying piece of work. The purpose of this publication is to offer a complete picture of the systems of taxation in operation in the United States and in certain selected foreign countries. The task is, of course, an ambitious one. The material is presented in the form of tables, which makes the information readily available. However, there are no statistics as to the comparative importance of the different sources of revenue, even for a particular state. Thus, the information given is of more benefit to a person who is faced with the statutory duty of paying tax, than it is for the taxpayer who is interested in knowing from whence the state or federal tax dollar derives.

The compilation has both the strength and the weakness incidental to joint effort. For the most part, the data for particular states or countries has been gathered and prepared by teachers of economics in colleges and universities or by members of finance departments. The tables give title of tax, legal citation, rate, collection official or agency, disposition (state or local), date for return, date for payment of tax, and other such information. Taxation data on twenty-three foreign states and subdivisions are given, including such widely separated and differentiated countries as Estonia, Persia, Venezuela, New South Wales, Bavaria, and Iceland.

The work will, so far as the United States is concerned, serve as a ready complement to *The Financial Statistics of the States*, and will be welcomed by teachers and students of public finance generally.

C. A. M. E.

Current Municipal Problems is the title of a 1933 Houghton Mifflin book (pp. 293) from the pen of Ernest S. Griffith. Its author has not set himself to the task of writing another textbook in municipal government, of which he agrees there are already at least enough, but to that of examining certain problems "concerning the solution of which there is as yet no common agreement." The problems selected include "The Social Significance of City Government"; "The Approach to Municipal Problems" (a defense of the historical approach); "Politics and Corruption in American Cities" (explained largely in terms of the heterogeneity of our urban population); "Quantitative Methods in Municipal Public Opinion"; "Municipal Measurements"; state administrative control over the city; "Key Points in Charter Appraisal"; "Defects in the City Manager Plan"; "Inherent Difficulties in Metropolitan Government"; "The Role of Voluntary Agencies and the Amateur in City Government"; and "The Dynamics of City Government"

(found chiefly in education, which leads to knowledge, and religion, which eventuates in an altruistic spirit). The author makes no extravagant claims for his book; rather he recognizes it for just what it is, namely, a series of essays, not too academic in tone, which in the sum will provide a sort of layman's handbook on some challenging problems in the realm of municipal affairs. Within the limits set by himself he has written well and purposefully, and his volume is worthy of a careful perusal, particularly by members of the audience to which it was addressed.

R. C. M.

British Far Eastern Policy, 1894-1900 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 376), by R. Stanley McCordock, is a thorough, penetrating, and readable contribution to the literature of European imperialism in its oriented aspects. The years in question were critical for England, for the other imperial powers, for China, and for the new Japan, just learning the lessons of nationalism, imperialism, and industrialism under capable teachers, to-wit, the Western Powers. The author, with admirable deftness and broad perspective, finds his way among the tangled paths of the diplomacy of many powers and shows how Britain, first a friend of China, sought to save this friend from Japan; how, failing in this program and seeing her commercial supremacy challenged by Russia, she abandoned the policy of isolation and entered an alliance with Japan; and how, nevertheless, Britain consistently opposed the spoliation of China and helped to restrict such spoliation to the taking of leaseholds. The Russian-British conflict, of which the Far Eastern difficulties were but one phase, easily explains not only Britain's turn toward Japan but also British encouragement of or non-interference with Germany's plan in China. Thus do we see an example of how nineteenth century diplomats, reflecting the conflicts inherent in the new capitalistic and industrial imperialism, spun the webs of high policy that finally caught both ally and enemy in a fatal entanglement.

C. T.

The Delinquent Child (New York: The Century Company, 1932, pp. xx, 499.) and *Child Labor* (New York: The Century Company, 1932, pp. xix, 592) are both publications of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. The first is the work of the committee on socially handicapped children of Section IV of the conference, which section covered the whole phase of handicapped children. Frederick P. Cabot was chairman of the committee; and C. C. Carstens was chairman of the whole section. The second volume was written by the committee on vocational guidance and child labor of Section III, which section studied the whole question of education and training. The committee worked under the guidance of Anne S. Davis. F. J. Kelly was chairman of Section III. The data contained within these two volumes are not new by any means. The methodology employed by the conference was that of collecting and collating already existing evidence, and presenting, in simplified form, the main trends and tendencies in the subject field. The value of the work done lies in the criticism of the ablest sociologists of the country. The conference reports might have been more valuable if more attention had been given to the construction of syntheses. However, for the sociologists and others who are interested in the improvement of conditions in which the children of America grow into adulthood, these studies are of immense value. The future history may well praise President Hoover for his attempt to study the main streams of American life.

C. A. M. E.

Ruth D. Master's *International Law in National Courts*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 245) is a helpful monograph that recently appeared in the field of international law. As the subtitle states, it is "a study of the enforcement of international law in German, Swiss, French, and Belgian courts." In the case of each of these states the author presents, first, a brief introduction stating the general relationship of international to municipal law, then a discussion of the place of treaties in the law and the courts, next, an exposition of the treatment accorded by the courts to customary international law, and finally, a summary and conclusion. Germany receives relatively more attention inasmuch as the constitution of 1919 made necessary a separate treatment of the period 1871-1919. Throughout, the author makes careful use of the most authoritative primary and secondary materials. The whole study is characterized by admirable conciseness and clarity. It is interesting to note that only in France are the courts inclined to interpret treaties and customary international law strictly in order to make them conform to statutes. The courts of the other states are inclined to follow the Anglo-American practice of assuming, whenever possible, that the legislature did not intend statutes to conflict with pre-existing international legal obligations. C. T.

In a book called *Unlocking the Treasuries of the Trial Courts* (The Johns Hopkins Press, 1933), Professor Leon C. Marshall develops a technique for making an objective study of the work of the trial courts. Conceding the impossibility of recording all desirable court-and-case data in quantitative terms, the author nevertheless insists that much information of the greatest significance can be so recorded. His book consists largely of an elucidation of the application of statistical techniques to the "treasuries of the trial courts," with several types of data sheets included by way of illustration. The work of the Johns Hopkins School is, of course, widely known and presumably, where known, generally appreciated. There is no question but that the methods of statistical analysis can be applied successfully to judicial data. It is a matter of the greatest moment that reputable scholars in the law have recognized this fact, and have turned their talents in the direction of working out some of the problems which such an application inevitably raises. The Johns Hopkins group are to be congratulated on the part they are taking in this work, and Professor Marshall is deserving of special felicitation on his latest volume. *Unlocking the Treasuries of the Trial Courts* is a noteworthy contribution; its publication is an event of major importance to those who would substitute facts for fancy and knowledge for surmise in the study of our trial courts. R. C. M.

Government and Politics of Italy (New York: World Book Company, 1932, pp. xii, 307) is the long-awaited work of Professor Henry Russell Spencer on the government and politics of Italy. It more than fulfills the high expectations which the American political science confraternity held for it. The coming of Fascism to power in 1922 rendered it necessary for the author to postpone publication of his manuscript until the régime crumbled or until it solidified itself into a more or less permanent phenomenon in Italian politics. By publishing the revised manuscript now, it is to be presumed that he regards Fascism as a permanent institution or as one sufficiently important to merit a serious description of its ideas and machinery. Yet, it is apparent that Doctor Spencer is strongly critical of the whole ideology

of that nationalistic dictatorship, even though his integrity as a scholar demands a fair and not unfriendly discussion of the whole governmental story. Without ado, the author describes the manner and means employed by Fascism in its rise to power, and of its almost brutal intrenchment between 1922 and 1925. The dictatorship is one of collective racketeering, rationalized as efficiency. Practically all the institutions of a democratic nature that evolved from the *Risorgimento* have been discarded for more effective instruments of wreaking the will of the *Fascista* upon the Italian public. Professor Spencer has performed a fine service in setting, in short compass, the whole Fascist régime into its proper historical background. After reading this short work, one has a very definite idea of how the Italian government functions. Moreover, the teachers of comparative government will welcome this volume, for there has long been a distinct need for it. It also represents another fine addition to the Government Handbook series.

C. A. M. E.

The Mission of San Antonio de Padua, located in a rich valley in the Santa Lucia Mountains some seventy-five miles southeast of Monterey, was founded on July 14, 1771, by order of Father Junipero Serra as a link in the famous mission chain of Alta California. Mrs. Frances Rand Smith's *The Mission of San Antonio de Padua [California]* (Stanford University, California: Stanford University Press, 1932, pp. ix, 108) is a fascinating and scholarly "narrative reviewing early explorations in the region, the establishment of the Mission, its change of location [in 1773] and its subsequent history. . . ." The work also contains illuminating chapters on the architecture of the San Antonio Mission, described as "superior, both aesthetically and in point of utility"; and the marvelous irrigation system worthy of being "ranked as a signal achievement of those early days." In 1790 San Antonio de Padua boasted a neophyte population of 1076, thereby constituting it the largest mission community in California. Yet it went the way of most of the famous old missions; today it is only "a spreading decay of roofless walls and empty-windowed buildings" whose desolation is accentuated when one recalls the flourishing and self-sustaining community of nearly a century and a half ago.

J. L. M.

The Obligation of Universities to the Social Order (New York: New York University Press, 1933, pp. xiv, 503), as the subtitle indicated, is a publication of the addresses and discussions at a Conference of Universities held in New York from November 15 to 17, 1932, under the auspices of New York University. The Conference was called in celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of New York University and for the purpose of discussing "certain of the outstanding social and educational problems of the hour." Delegates attended from many leading foreign and American universities, and many persons of eminence in the world of scholarship delivered addresses or participated in the discussions. The book presents these contributions in four sections and a conclusion. The sections are: "The University Today: Its Aims and Province"; "The University and Economic Changes"; "The University and Governmental Changes"; and "The University and Spiritual Values." A number of the leading social scientists of the United States participated. Many of the addresses are valuable contributions, and the place of the university in modern social life is pretty thoroughly discussed.

O. D. W.

Readers and observers the world over apparently are foredoomed to range themselves into two camps as regards Italy and Fascism: one group, perhaps the more weighty and by all odds the more vociferous of the two, holds Mussolini and his works in utter contempt, finding nothing good about the man or his movement; the other esteems the generalissimo of Fascism to be a paragon of virtue and the soul of honor. L. Kemechey, the young Hungarian who wrote *Il Duce* (published in English by Richard R. Smith in 1930, pp. 280), was of the latter school. His book, therefore, sings paeans of praise to the creator of the present-day Italy. It is, for all that, a vivid, vital story of a vigorous and exuberant personality, and it is well written. The reader who desires to know Mussolini, if he be able at the same time to preserve his sense of balance and direction, will do well to read Kemechey's book. He will find it an entertaining volume.

R. C. M.

Estados Unidos y las Antillas, by Tulio M. Cestero (Madrid: Compañía Ibero-Americana de Publicaciones, 1931, pp. 233), is an historical and analytical work on the relations of the United States with the West Indian countries. The author is so remarkably unemotional and judicious in his approach that at first one might think that, in spite of his Santo Domingan nationality, he is an apologist for the United States. Such, however, is not the case. He presents carefully and impartially the history of our relations with Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Haiti, quoting liberally from official documents and the statements of statesmen of the times considered. This historical review is followed by an analysis of the recent economic policies of the United States, especially in Santo Domingo and Haiti and their effects upon the control of industry and upon economic organization in those countries, which effects he considers bad, especially in the key industries and utilities. One problem—that of the insolvency of foreign debts—the author nowhere adequately solves. The book is, however, to be commended, both for its objectivity and its careful analyses of the situations discussed.

L. L. B.

El Negro en los U. S. A. El Caso de Scottsboro, by Manuel Marsal (La Habana: Editorial "Hermes," 1932, pp. 199) is the second edition of this book, published in order to give the proceeds to the defense of the Scottsboro negroes. A long prologue by Juan Marinello discusses the philosophy of color and racial prejudice. The author devotes his pages to a rather unsystematic presentation of discrimination, especially legal and social, against Negroes in the United States. He finds that Lincoln's work has remained unfinished and that Wilson was hypocritical in his plea for democracy. He represents the Negro as loyal in peace and war, but as finally becoming disillusioned regarding the civilization from which he still is largely excluded, and as favoring increasingly radical programs like communism. The book is cinematic, but vivid and often emotional. It probably presents a good picture of Negro public opinion on the questions discussed, and especially on the Scottsboro case.

L. L. B.

Glyndon G. Van Deusen's *Sieyes: His Life and His Nationalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 170) is a careful study of the political philosophy of a prominent figure in the Revolutionary thought of Eighteenth Century France. The book is divided into eight chapters devoted

to a biographical sketch, Sieyes as a pamphleteer, his active part in the Revolution from 1789 to the coming of Napoleon, and his nationalistic philosophy.
O. D. W.

Jacques Barzun's *The French Race* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932, pp. 275) is a valuable treatise on a subject which has occupied the attention of many French thinkers, political and otherwise. It is confined to the development of the theories of the French race prior to the Revolution. Among the eminent French political theorists whose thought on this topic is considered are Hotman, Bodin, Fénelon, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Mably.
O. D. W.